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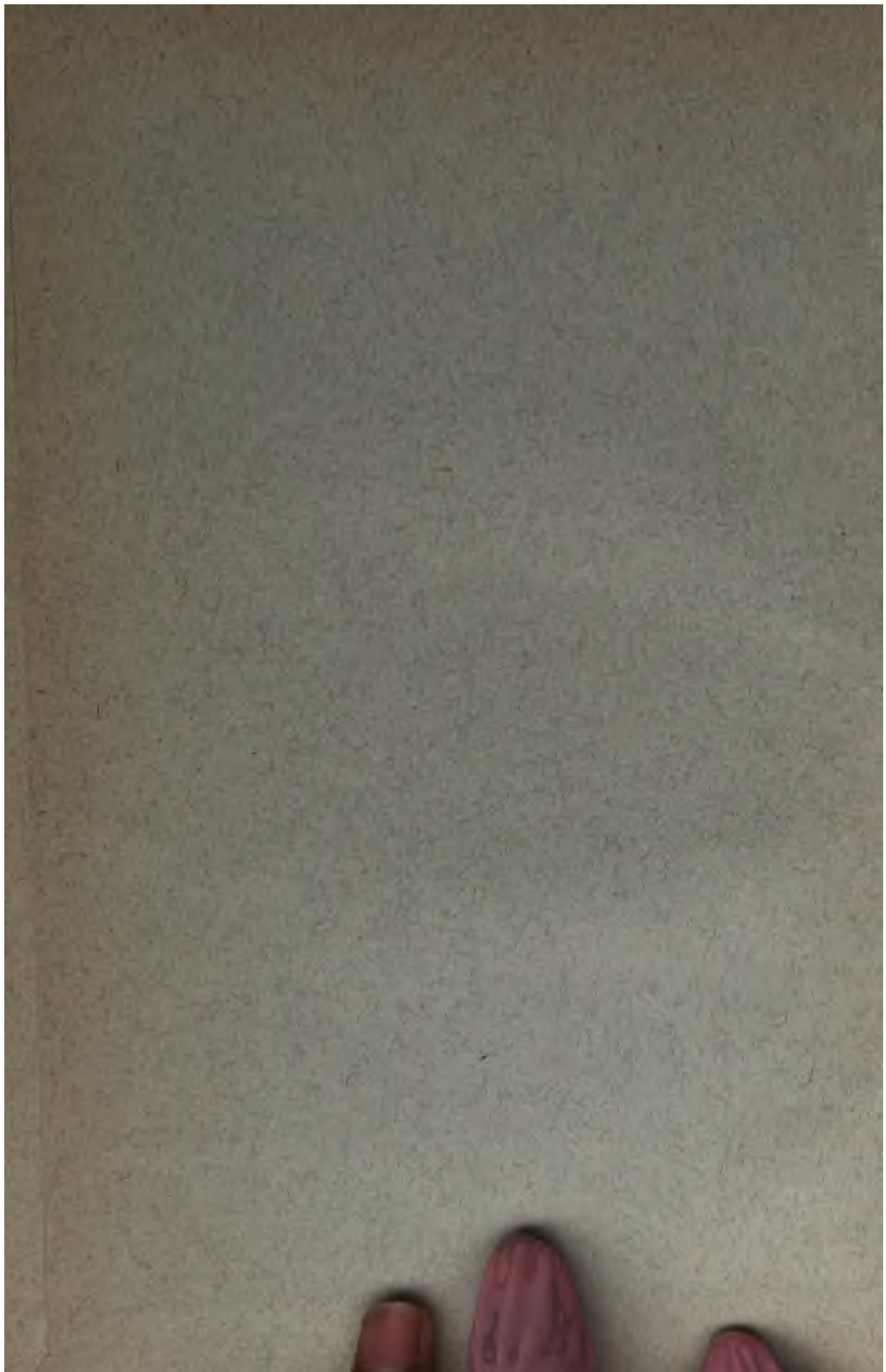
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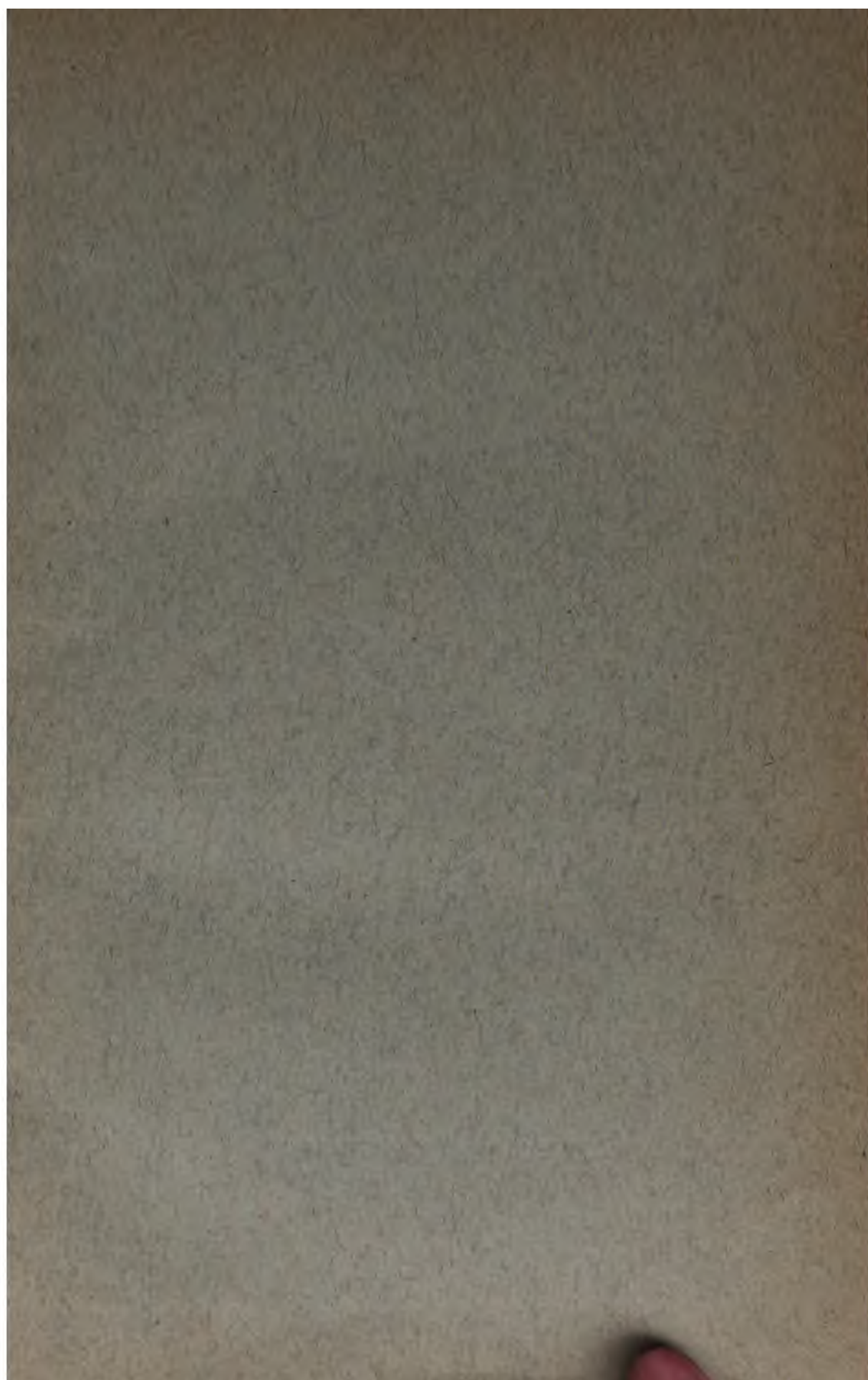
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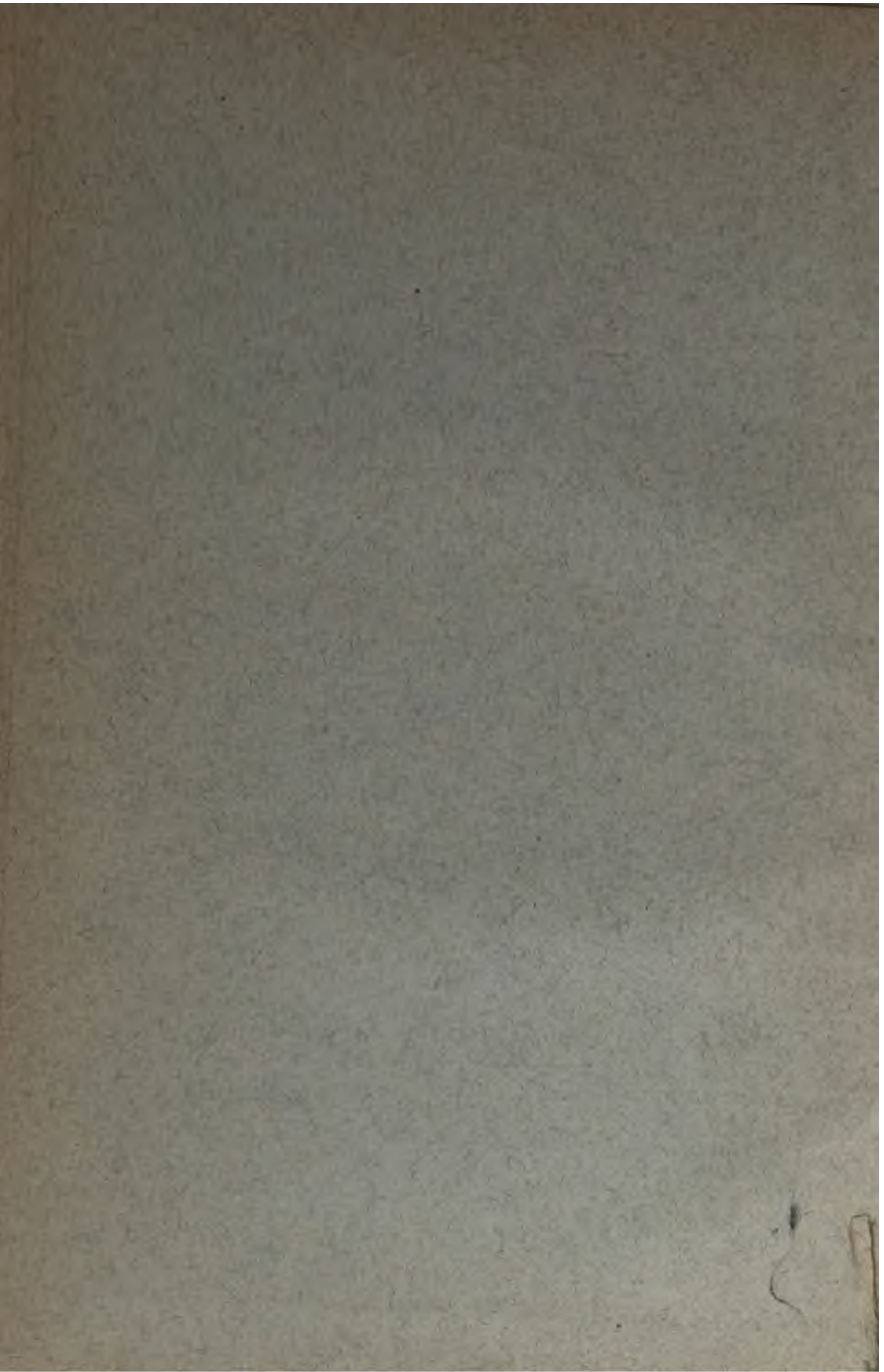
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**THE CLASSICAL
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814) have been added later. The ink of the text is of a reddish colour; but the first gloss on the *recto*, which is by a different hand, is written in black ink. The character of the MS., so far as can be judged from this small fragment, does not appear to have been very good. In the twenty-six lines so imperfectly represented there are two (ll. 751 and 804) obvious blunders, one line (813) entirely omitted, and in l. 748 a variant reading which, if the conjectural restoration is correct, seems also to be a mere blunder.

The papyrus has been compared with the editions of Bekker (Berlin, 1828) and Maass (*ib.*, 1893). In this transcript the portion preserved in the MS. has been given (except for separation of words) exactly as it stands in the original, without accents or punctuation marks, except where the original has them.

Verso.

- 741 [ἄρκια]ι [ἐξειπεῖν. τὰ δέ που μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
[ὥρη] μ[έν] τ α[ρόσαι νειούς, ὥρη δὲ φυτεῦσαι,
[ἐκ] διος ἡδη [πάντα πεφασμένα πάντοθι κεῖται.
[καὶ μ]εν τις κ[αὶ νηὶ πολυκλύστου χειμῶνος]
745 [ἐφρά]σατ [ῆ] δ[εινοῦ μεμνημένος Ἀρκτούροιο]
[ῆέ τ]εων αλ[λ]ω[ν οἷ τ' ὠκεανοῦ ἀρύονται]
[ἀστ]ερες αμφιλνκ[η]ς ο[ι τε πρώτης ἐπὶ νυκτός].
]η γαρ τους παντας αμ[εῖβεται εἰς ἐνιαυτόν]
[ῆέ]λιος μεγαν ογμον ελ[αύνων, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλω]
750 [ἐμ]πλησσει τοτε μεν τ['] ἀνιῶν τοτὲ δ' αὐτίκα δύνων.
[ἄλλ]ος αλλοιην [ἀσ]τηρ ε[πιδέρκεται ἡδ].
[γιν]ωσκεις [τάδε καὶ σύ· τὰ γὰρ συναεῖδεται ἡδη]
[ἐν]ν[ε]ακ[α]ίδεκα κύκλα φαεινοῦ ἡελίοιο,

748. Codd. ἦτοι. There cannot be more than two letters lost. Qu. ἦδη?

749. The cross-stroke of the ε of μέγαν is continuous with the top stroke of γ, so that the word looks like μεταν.

750. Bekk. ἐμπελάσει. Most of the MSS. read ἐμπλήσσει, as here, or ἐμπλήσει. Maass reads ἐμπελάει.

751. δ' omitted.

753. Only the tops of letters remain, and the readings are doubtful. The letter read as ν looks more like ι, there being no trace of the cross stroke.

Recto.

- [ἄλλοθι δ' ἄλλο μελαινομένη δοκέειν ὑ]ετροι[ο]
805 [σήματα δ' οὐτ' ἄρ πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἡμασι πάντα τέτυκτ]αι
[ἄλλ' ὅσα μὲν τριτάτῃ τε τεταρταίῃ τε πέλοντ]αι
[μέσφα διχαιομένης, διχάδος γε μὲν ἄχρισ ἐπ' αὐτ]ην
[σημαίνει διχόμηνον, ἀτὰρ πάλιν ἐκ διχομήν]ου
[ἐς διχάδα φθιμένην· ἔχεται δὲ οἱ α]υτικα [τ]ετρα[ς]

- 810 [μηνὸς ἀποιχομένου, τῇ δὲ τριτάτῃ] [ε]πιοντος
 [εἰ δὲ κέ μιν περὶ πᾶσαν ἄλῳαι κυ]κλώσσονται
 [ἡ τρεῖς ἡδὲ δύο περικείμεναι ἡδὲ] μι ὀιη
 [ῥηγνυμένη ἀνέμοιο, μαραινομένη] δε γαλήνης
 815 [ταὶ δύο δ' ἂν χειμῶνι περιτροχάοιντο] σεληνην
 [μείζονα δ' ἂν χειμῶνα φέροι τριελε]κτ[ο]ς [ἀ]λ[ω]η

αικαλουμεν[
 πεπυκνωμ[
 ειδειCνεφοCμ[
 γαληνα[

804. *νετοοιο* : *sic*, apparently.

805. Only the end of the down stroke of *α* remains, and the *ι* has a loop to the left at the top, so that the whole looks like *θ*.

810. The *η* is doubtful.

811. Accent by the same hand as the first marginal note.

812. Smooth breathing by the original scribe.

813. τῇ μὲν ἱῆ ἀνέμοιο γαληναίης τε δοκεύειν, omitted.

814. Accent by the same hand as in 811.

Marginal notes : the first three lines are in a darker ink than the text, and by a different hand. The *φ* in the third line was read by Mr. Kenyon, who suggests that the whole is a note on ἄλῳαί, and that it ran somewhat as follows :—αἱ καλου-
 μεν[αι ἄλῳαί ἐξ ἀέρος] πεπυκνωμ[ένου . . .] εἰ δ' εἰς νέφος . . . Perhaps αἱ καλούμεναι
 ἄλῳαί ἐξ ἀέρος πεπυκνωμένου συνίστανται, εἰ δ' εἰς νέφος μεταβάλλουσι [τὴν
 σεληνην κρύπτουσιν? or χειμῶν ἔσται (K.)?]. The *μ* at the end of l. 2 is very
 doubtful : that in l. 3 is inferred only from a projecting tail.

The second note is evidently some case of γαληναίη, but its purpose is not obvious. It can hardly be an alternative reading to, or explanation of, γαλήνης ; but it may have some reference to the omitted line. It is apparently in the same hand as the text, though the ink seems slightly darker.

H. I. BELL.

Since the above article was written another and much longer fragment of Aratus has been published in *Berliner Klassikertexte*, Heft V, 1te Hälfte, pp. 47-54. In this the first, but not the second, of the passages contained in the British Museum fragment is included.

H. I. B.

DOUBTFUL SYLLABLES IN IAMBIC SENARIUM.

PROFESSOR TUCKER in the *C.R.* vol. xi. pp. 341 *sqq.* has revolutionized our notions of 'doubtful syllables': we have now learned that such syllables are normally short, and that lengthening is the licence.

I have no quarrel with this general statement of the facts, for I have been at the pains carefully to record (in iambic senarii only) all the words with doubtful syllables, and the result, exclusive of augments and reduplications, is: words never long, 403; words short and long, 81; words never short, 80. If we add augments and reduplications we get 616 words never long.

Prof. Tucker gave a list of 183 words (I omit 7 augments and one reduplication for the present) whose doubtful syllables appear on occasions long. Of these 16 do not occur, and 10 are not long, in iambic senarii, and we are left with 157. I add four new words, making a total of 161.

Half-statistics are dangerous things. It is not enough to record the instances of lengthening: we must also take account of cases where the syllable is short or common (*i.e.* the syllable lies in the first, third, or fifth foot), and if we do this we shall find quite a new complexion thrown on the matter.

I will give the result first: of these 161 words, 80 *are never short*; 15 are more often long than short; and 15 are as often long as short. Thus 110 of them *may* be lengthened with a perfectly clear conscience (*i.e.* over 67 per cent.), and 50 per cent. *must* always be kept long.

The figures for τέκνον come out in the proportion 3 short: 1 long. If we admit this proportion to justify lengthening, we may add 26 to the 110, and 84 per cent. of the list have no terrors for the iambic writer—he may lengthen them 'habitually.'

I have omitted, as does Prof. Tucker, the *Rhesus*, *Cyclops*, and *Iphigenia in Aulis* in these calculations. Their statistics are: 62 words never long; 22 common only; 21 short and long; and 17 long only. Thus 38 appear long on occasions, of which 17 are never short; 4 more often long than short; and 7 as often long as short; *i.e.* 28 *may* be lengthened and 17 *must* be.

In the matter of augments and reduplications Prof. Tucker's case is conclusive. The exact figures (in iambic senarii) are: augments, 213 short and 168 common=381, against 8 lengthenings; reduplications, 135 short and 245 common=380, and only one lengthening.

Prof. Tucker (p. 341) speaks of 'the temptations of τεθνάναι and ἔθνος.'

It is a curious fact that the latter never occurs in iambic senarii, and the former only in the corrupt *Agam.* 539. The form *τεθνεώς* appears once (*Choeph.* 682), and it would seem that this syncopation was avoided in the infinitive and participle by the tragedians. Probably *κατθανεῖν-ών* filled its place.

He further mentions 'the common words *ἀγρός* and *ἐρυθρός*,' of which the former 'occurs with lengthening but twice,' and the latter 'not at all (long).' A reference to the tabulated list below will show that *ἀγρός* only appears 9 times—thrice short, twice long, and four times common—while *ἐρυθρός* never occurs at all in iambic senarii.

That epic influence was not always at work, and that convenience decided the quantity on occasions, is shown by the words *ἀκροθίνια* (four times long, never short) and *Ἀφροδίτη* (twice long and thrice short).

Though I am shaken by augments and reduplications, I am still somewhat of a 'stubborn reader,' and harbour suspicions that the occurrence of the cretic *- - -* in iambic senarii has something to do with the frequency with which the 'doubtful syllable' was kept short.

If the Athenian felt it proper in the theatre to pronounce *μακρός*, *πικρός*, *σφοδρός*, and *ελαφρός* short, is it not surprising that *μακρώτερος*, *πικρώτερος*, *σφοδρώτερος*, and *ελαφρώτερος* never became literary forms?

I append the list of 161 words in iambic senarii. Augments and reduplications are not included, and no instances are cited from the *Rhesus*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and *Cyclops*. I have placed an asterisk against those words whose doubtful syllable is always long, more often long than short, or as often long as short.

	ÆSCHYLUS.	SOPHOCLES.	EURIPIDES.	TOTAL.
	~ ~ -	~ ~ -	~ ~ -	~ ~ -
ὑβρίζειν	2 . 1 . 0	4 . 2 . 1	20 . 6 . 3	26 . 9 . 4
ἐφ-*		0 . 0 . 1	1 . 0 . 2	1 . 0 . 3
καθ-*		0 . 0 . 2	0 . 0 . 6	0 . 0 . 8
ἐγκαθ-*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ὑβρις	4 . 2 . 0	8 . 2 . 2	8 . 5 . 1	20 . 9 . 3
ὑβριστής	1 . 0 . 0	2 . 0 . 1	4 . 0 . 0	7 . 0 . 1
ἀβρότης*		.	0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀβρός*			1 . 0 . 3	1 . 0 . 3
νεβρίς*			1 . 1 . 1	1 . 1 . 1
ὄβριμος*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ἀγρός		3 . 1 . 1	0 . 3 . 1	3 . 4 . 2
ἀγρόθεν*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἄγραυλος*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
ἄγρυνπος*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ἄγριωπός*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἄγριος*	0 . 0 . 3	0 . 1 . 9	4 . 0 . 14	4 . 1 . 26
ἀγρεύειν*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἄγρα		2 . 2 . 0	7 . 1 . 1	9 . 3 . 1
ὑγραίνειν*			1 . 0 . 1	1 . 0 . 1

	AESCHYLUS.	SOPHOCLES.	EURIPIDES.	TOTAL.
	υ κ -	υ κ -	υ κ -	υ κ -
ὕγρότης*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
Φλεγραῖος*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ἔδρα	8 . 6 . 0	12 . 1 . 1	20 . 4 . 1	40 . 11 . 2
συνεδρία*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
προσεδρία*			0 . 0 . 2	0 . 0 . 2
προσεδρεύειν*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἐφεδρεύειν*			0 . 0 . 2	0 . 0 . 2
σύνεδρος*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
πάρεδρος*			2 . 0 . 2	2 . 0 . 2
πρόσεδρος*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
ἔφεδρος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἰδρύειν*	0 . 0 . 1		2 . 2 . 2	2 . 2 . 3
καθ-*			0 . 0 . 2	0 . 0 . 2
ἐγκαθ-*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀνιδρυτος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
* Ἀδραστος	2 . 0 . 0	1 . 0 . 0	15 . 9 . 1	18 . 9 . 1
αἰδρις*	0 . 0 . 2			0 . 0 . 2
ἐπιδρομή*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
κέδρος			2 . 1 . 1	2 . 1 . 1
κέδρινος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ὀλέθριος	3 . 0 . 0	1 . 0 . 1	2 . 0 . 1	6 . 0 . 2
ὄλεθρος*		0 . 0 . 3	4 . 0 . 2	4 . 0 . 5
ῥέεθρον*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
λαθραῖος	1 . 0 . 0	1 . 0 . 0	1 . 2 . 1	3 . 2 . 1
μέλαθρον*	0 . 0 . 4	0 . 0 . 1	6 . 0 . 22	6 . 0 . 27
Ἐρυθραί*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
πατρός-ί	51 . 9 . 4	65 . 18 . 47	126 . 37 . 71	242 . 64 . 122
πάτριος*		0 . 0 . 1	1 . 0 . 0	1 . 0 . 1
πατρικός*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
πατροφόντης*		0 . 0 . 2		0 . 0 . 2
πατρόθεν*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
πατρῶος	19 . 2 . 1	29 . 9 . 3	47 . 6 . 4	95 . 17 . 8
πατρίς	1 . 1 . 0	6 . 0 . 1	28 . 1 . 8	35 . 2 . 9
πέτρα	9 . 2 . 0	5 . 1 . 1	24 . 7 . 4	38 . 10 . 5
πέτρος	0 . 1 . 0	7 . 0 . 1	14 . 3 . 4	21 . 4 . 5
πετρήρης*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
λατρεύειν*	0 . 0 . 1	1 . 0 . 1		1 . 0 . 2
μηλοτρόφος*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
γηροτρόφος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀπότροπος*	1 . 0 . 0		0 . 0 . 1	1 . 0 . 1
* Ἀτρεύς*	0 . 1 . 1	0 . 1 . 3	3 . 8 . 4	3 . 10 . 8
* Ἀτρείδης	5 . 0 . 0	20 . 0 . 9	1 . 0 . 0	26 . 0 . 9
ισοτριβής*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ἀλίτριος*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
μέτρον			5 . 0 . 1	5 . 0 . 1
ἀμέτρητος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἄτρυντος*	0 . 0 . 1	1 . 0 . 0		1 . 0 . 1
προτρέπειν*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἐποτρύνειν*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
θυγατρός-ί			19 . 0 . 11	19 . 0 . 11

DOUBTFUL SYLLABLES IN IAMBIC SENARIUM

7

	AESCHYLUS.	SOPHOCLES.	EURIPIDES.	TOTAL.
	υ κ -	υ κ -	υ κ -	υ κ -
Ἀμφιτρύων*			2 . 0 . 2	2 . 0 . 2
φαρέτρα*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀκροθίνια*	0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 3	0 . 0 . 4
μακρός	12 . 11 . 0	27 . 13 . 3	26 . 17 . 0	65 . 41 . 3
πικρός	7 . 2 . 1	18 . 2 . 1	34 . 20 . 1	59 . 24 . 3
πικρότης*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀκρός*	1 . 2 . 2	6 . 3 . 8	11 . 9 . 12	18 . 14 . 22
ἀκραῖος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀποκρίνας*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
δάκρυσι			3 . 0 . 1	3 . 0 . 1
ἄδακρυς*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀρτίδακρυς*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
δάκρυα	1 . 0 . 0	2 . 0 . 2	27 . 4 . 15	30 . 4 . 17
δακρύειν	1 . 0 . 1	6 . 1 . 1	7 . 3 . 2	14 . 4 . 4
ἀκραγής*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ὄκρις*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ἐπίκρανον*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
νεκρός	9 . 3 . 2	19 . 4 . 2	97 . 26 . 15	125 . 33 . 19
ἀποκρίψας*	0 . 0 . 1		1 . 0 . 0	1 . 0 . 1
πολύχρυσος*		0 . 0 . 1	1 . 0 . 3	1 . 0 . 4
λέχριος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
Κύνρις	3 . 1 . 0		22 . 12 . 12	25 . 13 . 12
Κύνρος*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
θεοπρόπος*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ἄφρων		0 . 1 . 0	3 . 1 . 1	3 . 2 . 1
κακόφρων*		0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 2
ἐλαφρός*	0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 2
ἀφρός	2 . 0 . 0	1 . 0 . 0	3 . 2 . 3	6 . 2 . 3
Ἀφροδίτη			3 . 0 . 2	3 . 0 . 2
δίφρος	1 . 0 . 0	3 . 2 . 0	5 . 0 . 1	9 . 2 . 1
Ἀρταφέρνης*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
φιλοφρόνως*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
ὀφρύς	1 . 0 . 0		1 . 0 . 1	2 . 0 . 1
ὀφρύη*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀριθμός*	0 . 0 . 2	0 . 0 . 2	4 . 0 . 12	4 . 0 . 16
τοσοντάριθμος*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
ἀναρίθμητος*		0 . 0 . 1	1 . 1 . 0	1 . 1 . 1
ἀριθμεῖν*			1 . 1 . 1	1 . 1 . 1
πυθμήν	2 . 0 . 0	0 . 0 . 1		2 . 0 . 1
πότμος		2 . 1 . 1	11 . 1 . 2	13 . 2 . 3
ἐφετμή*	0 . 0 . 4			0 . 0 . 4
ἀτμός*	0 . 1 . 1			0 . 1 . 1
ἄρετμά*			2 . 1 . 2	2 . 1 . 2
ἄρετμῶσαι*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1

	AESCHYLUS.	SOPHOCLES.	EURIPIDES.	TOTAL.
	υ ρ - 0 . 0 . 1	υ ρ -	υ ρ - 2 . 0 . 0 0 . 0 . 1	υ ρ - 2 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1
ὄχμασαι λιχμῶν*				
ἀκμή ἀκμαῖος	2 . 0 . 0 2 . 0 . 1	8 . 0 . 0 0 . 1 . 0	6 . 2 . 2	16 . 2 . 2 2 . 1 . 1
γένεθλον* γενέθλιος*	0 . 0 . 3 2 . 0 . 2	0 . 0 . 2 0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1 2 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 6 4 . 0 . 4
σχέτλιος* ἀνατλάς*	0 . 0 . 1	1(?) . 0 . 3	0 . 0 . 5 0 . 0 . 1	1(?) . 0 . 9 0 . 0 . 1
κύκλος Κύκλωπες* Ἀμύκλαι* κατακλύζειν* ἀκλεῖς* Πάτροκλος* κυκλήσκειν* ὁμοκλεῖν* Ἡρακλέης-ῆς	4 . 2 . 2 1 . 1 . 0	8 . 4 . 0 0 . 0 . 1 14 . 1 . 0	17 . 7 . 2 1 . 1 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 1 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 15 . 2 . 13	29 . 13 . 4 1 . 1 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 1 . 2 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 29 . 3 . 13
ὄχλος κάναμοχλεύειν*	1 . 1 . 0	1 . 0 . 0	19 . 9 . 8 0 . 0 . 1	21 . 10 . 8 0 . 0 . 1
ὄπλον ἐνοπλιος* ὀπλίτης ὀπλίζειν πέπλος	1 . 2 . 0 2 . 0 . 0 6 . 1 . 1	14 . 1 . 3 1 . 0 . 0 3 . 0 . 2	25 . 9 . 16 0 . 0 . 2 7 . 0 . 4 4 . 0 . 1 46 . 17 . 11	40 . 12 . 19 0 . 0 . 2 9 . 0 . 4 5 . 0 . 1 55 . 18 . 14
τυφλός	0 . 1 . 0	5 . 7 . 0	2 . 5 . 5	7 . 13 . 5
πότνια* πίτνειν προσ-	 1 . 0 . 0 1 . 0 . 0	 0 . 0 . 1 1 . 0 . 0 0 . 2 . 0	 3 . 0 . 8 15 . 6 . 1 10 . 4 . 1	 3 . 0 . 9 17 . 6 . 1 11 . 6 . 1
τέκνον ἄτεκνος* ὀκνεῖν κατ-* ἄοκνος* κύκνος κυκνόμορφος* ἀφικνεῖσθαι*	17 . 3 . 0 1 . 0 . 0 0 . 1 . 0 0 . 0 . 1	69 . 20 . 32 8 . 5 . 4 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1	223 . 31 . 65 3 . 0 . 10 2 . 1 . 0 2 . 0 . 1	309 . 54 . 97 3 . 0 . 10 11 . 6 . 4 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 2 . 1 . 1 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1
τέχνη τεχνώμενος* ἶχνος ἰχνεύειν* λίχνος*	8 . 2 . 0 1 . 1 . 0	12 . 3 . 0 1 . 3 . 1 0 . 2 . 1 0 . 0 . 1	9 . 9 . 1 0 . 5 . 0 6 . 3 . 5 0 . 0 . 1	29 . 14 . 1 1 . 8 . 1 7 . 6 . 6 0 . 0 . 1 0 . 0 . 1

DOUBTFUL SYLLABLES IN IAMBIC SENARII

9

	AESCHYLUS.	SOPHOCLES.	EURIPIDES.	TOTAL.
	- υ -	υ υ -	υ υ -	υ υ -
ὑπνος	8 . 3 . 0	4 . 3 . 4	7 . 4 . 2	19 . 10 . 6
αὔπνος*	0 . 0 . 1		2 . 0 . 2	2 . 0 . 3
ἐνύπνιον*	0 . 0 . 1			0 . 0 . 1
Θέραπναι*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἐρίπναι*			0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1
ἀφνεός*		0 . 0 . 1		0 . 0 . 1
ἐπεφνε*		0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 1	0 . 0 . 2

I add the ten words which, though they occur in iambic senarii, are never long.

	AESCHYLUS.	SOPHOCLES.	EURIPIDES.	TOTAL.
	υ υ -	υ υ -	υ υ -	υ υ -
ὑγρός	0 . 1 . 0	0 . 1 . 0	5 . 1 . 0	6 . 3 . 0
λάβρα		5 . 5 . 0	18 . 8 . 0	23 . 13 . 0
μετρέιν		1 . 1 . 0	1 . 0 . 0	2 . 1 . 0
μέτριος			8 . 1 . 0	8 . 1 . 0
ἀποτρέπειν			1 . 0 . 0	1 . 0 . 0
δτρύνειν		0 . 2 . 0		0 . 2 . 0
διπλόος-οῦς	7 . 3 . 0	19 . 5 . 0	11 . 10 . 0	37 . 18 . 0
προπίτνειν		1 . 0 . 0		1 . 0 . 0
ὄκνος	1 . 0 . 0	4 . 4 . 0	4 . 0 . 0	9 . 4 . 0
ἱκνέισθαι	1 . 0 . 0	6 . 0 . 0	6 . 0 . 0	13 . 0 . 0

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

MAVORTIVS AND PRVDENTIVS.

THE vexed question of the exact significance of the name of Mavortius in the old Putean MS. of Prudentius (Par. Put. 8084) has again been called into court in the recent discussions of the Mavortian recension of Horace, and is fully treated in Dr. Bick's *Horazkritik seit 1880*, pp. 31-35.¹ As Dr. Bick has done me the honour of subjecting my former articles² on the question to his criticism, I feel called upon to say something in defence of the view I maintained. I willingly grant him that perhaps I laid too strong a stress on the connection of the question with Horatian criticism; but I do so, I fear, not as a convert to his arguments in favour of the view that Put. is merely a copy of a MS. that had Mavortius' autograph written in it, and that therefore that name is part of a lost subscriptio, but precisely for the contrary reason, that I consider I was too much influenced by former advocates of that view. That there is no ground for assuming the name to be part of a lost subscriptio I am more than ever convinced, and my object here is to endeavour to show that the whole argument is based on a false premise.

Briefly put, the argument is this. The name there written is 'Vettius Agorius Basilius'—one or two of the letters are not now visible, but that is neither here nor there—the last name Mavortius being omitted: such an omission would be impossible on the part of Mavortius himself;³ and therefore, as one word is certainly omitted, we may as well assume forty more to be omitted too, and so make up a subscriptio. But why is it impossible? When Aulus Gellius, for example, refers to Marcus Tullius Cicero simply as Marcus Tullius, or to Q. Claudius Quadrigarius simply as Q. Claudius,⁴ no one exclaims that the word Cicero or the word Quadrigarius is indispensable, and therefore we must assume a lacuna, for the simple reason that they recognise that the ordinary habit of the Roman burdened with three or four names was to omit some of them when he had no reason for formality. What grounds have we for assuming that Mavortius was eccentric in this particular, and always wrote his name in full? Of course he wrote it in full and added v.c. et inl., and anything else he could think of, when writing a formal subscriptio to his edition of Horace; and the very fact that he did not do the same

¹ Cf. also F. Vollmer, 'Die Überlieferungs Geschichte von Horaz,' *Philologus*, Suppl. Band. x. 317.

² *C.R.* xvii. (1903), 203-207; xviii. (1904), 112-115.

³ On the same false reasoning is based the view

that the name is M.'s autograph, but that he was interrupted before he finished it—a view rightly condemned by Dr. Bick as 'unglaublich.'

⁴ e.g. *Noctes Att.* vi. 11, 3 and 7.

here is clear proof that he was not making any formal subscriptio, merely writing his name in his own book like anybody else. Everything about the signature points to informality. It is written in the same small hand as the notes. Now, no formal subscriptio would be written in a small, semi-cursive hand, as though it were of no more importance than the marginal notes: it would rather be printed in letters as large again as the text. Again, it is written a long distance away from the text, of which only a few lines occur on the top of the page, while the name is three-quarters of the way down. Dr. Bick attempts to account for this space by assuming that it was originally filled with some lost remarks on the preceding hymns, for which the copyist, being unable to read them, left a blank space. But it is difficult to imagine what else could be there except the ordinary ending 'Explicit liber Cathemerinon Aurelii Prudentii,' with perhaps an 'illustrissimi poetae' tacked on; and for that or any other reasonable ending surely half a large folio page is an absurdly disproportionate space to leave.

One may call attention, too, to the small cross preceding the name, which is very frequently found before signatures in documents. In fact, I am perfectly sure that, had Mavortius not already been known as an editor, no one would ever have inferred from the name, written where it is and as it is, that anything so formal as a subscriptio was intended by it.

It is difficult to see how the exponents of the view that Put. is a copy of a MS. containing Mavortius' subscriptio account for the name being in a different hand from the text. Surely it would have been the duty of the copyist to write all that he found in the book he was copying, subscriptio included; and yet the name is written by the marginal annotator, who presumably used either another MS. or his own wits for the notes he added. If he was Mavortius, it is intelligible enough that he should write his own name; but if he was someone else, his reasons for scribbling other people's names are to me a mystery. Even supposing that it was he and not the copyist of the text who used a MS. with a subscriptio, one has to postulate an inconceivable degree of conscientiousness on the part of a man who was not copying a MS., merely taking notes from it, to suppose that he copied among them three meaningless words from an illegible subscriptio.¹

Dr. Bick's other arguments are no more convincing; than those already discussed: the last of them, indeed, begs the question by assuming that it is a subscriptio; and, as the subscriptio was always added at the end of the edition, and in this case the marginal notes continue to the end of the book, there would have to be another subscriptio there too. That argument, however, breaks down if, as I have attempted to prove, the name is not intended for a subscriptio at all.

The only other support Dr. Bick finds is Zangemeister and Wattenbach's opinion that the MS. should be assigned to the end rather than the early part of the sixth century; but this he admits is doubtful, as other authorities take the

¹ In the case of the Montpellier MS. of Persius the subscriptio and notes are apparently taken together from some different MS. from that used for

the text (cf. Lindsay, *C.R.* 1905, p. 465). But there the subscriptio was legible.

contrary view. He might have added that the dating of early Latin MSS. is so uncertain that eminent authorities have lately differed by as much as two centuries in the date they assign to the Codex Romanus of Vergil, and consequently cannot be called in with any certainty to settle the present question. No one has dated the MS. later than the end of the sixth century, and as Mavortius was consul in 527 A.D., he may well have annotated a MS. written in the middle of the century or even later: so that there are comparatively few years between the two views.

There is, after all, no reason for supposing that Mavortius edited all the Latin poets he had on his shelves and marked with his name, and, as there is nothing but his name in the MS. of Prudentius, it is just as rash to infer that the few notes found there were intended as an edition as it would be in the case of an edition possessed and pencil-marked by any modern scholar. Of course, he may have treated his Prudentius, who was a recent author and probably not considered worth editing formally, much as he did Horace; and so the Paris copy may, as I suggested before, be a specimen of ancient editing. But there is absolutely no evidence that such was the case, and consequently I must admit that many of the inferences I drew in my former articles are hardly justifiable,¹ and at the best can only be regarded as vague hypotheses. In one conviction, however, I remain unshaken: a name is but a name to me.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ *e.g.* I was too much influenced by the prevalent belief in a subscriptio in suggesting that the continuance of the notes past the page containing the name afforded support to the view that Mavortius' labour in

Horace extended past the subscriptio at the end of the *Epodes*. As the name is not a subscriptio, the case is quite different and has no bearing whatever on that Horatian question.

GREEK AND LATIN WORD STUDIES.

(1) LATIN *landica*, *culpa*; GREEK κόλπος.

CICERO, in his letters (*Fam.* 9, 22), writes the following sentence (§ 2): *memini in senatu disertum consularem ita eloqui: 'hanc culpam maiorem an illam dicam?' potuit obscenius? 'non' inquis; 'non enim ita sensit.'* Wherein does the coarseness lie? Critics (cf. Tyrrell in his edition of the letters) find in (*il*)*lam dicam* a word '*landicam*,' which they define by 'clitoris.' But possibly *culpam* is, whether by equivoque or by definition, the offending word (cf. Shuckburgh's translation, 3, p. 295, where, after characterizing the interpretation just mentioned as far-fetched, he suggests an equivoque between *culpam* and *culleus*).

With Shuckburgh's characterization of '*landica*' as far-fetched I am fain to agree, for reasons to be presently set forth; but here turn for a moment to the consideration of *landica* [which first occurs in literature in the *Priapea*, 78. 5, with a long penult, though Walde writes it *landica*].¹ Its next absolutely unquestionable occurrence is in (the African?) Muscio's old (5-6 century A.D.) Latin version of the *Sorani Gynaecia* (edited by Rose in the Teubner Texts), where *landica* occurs twice (12a, p. 8; and xxv. p. 106), in the undoubted sense of 'clitoris.' But as early as the siege of Perusia we find the word, partly restored, to be sure, on a glans Perusina, with the following inscription: *fulmen PET[o] | [la]NDICAM | FVLVIAE* (see *Eph. Epig.* vi. p. 55).² This restoration may be adjudged certain, an answer from a soldier of Octavianus without the walls to the other ribald glans Perusina shot from within the walls against the Octavians, viz. *pet[e] | CVLVM | OCTAVIA* (see Willmann's *Exem. Inscr. Lat.* ii. p. 239; or Cagnat, *Epigr. Lat.*² p. 313).

Further, *landica* is also found in three glosses (Goetz, *Corpus*, iii. 351, 53; 453, 71; 475, 7, the first being in a list of coarse words), with the definition *ἐσχαράδιον*, corrected by Georges to *ἐσχαράδιον*.

Forcellini-Corradini cites, from an old edition (*Epist. Sorani ad Cleopatr.* inter op. Petronii edit. Antonid., p. 81), the first Muscio-Soranus passage noted above; but further adds: *aliis recentis Barbariae nomen videtur, . . . foculum, ferramentum nempe, cui tamquam crati . . . Sed poterat alicui etiam landie Gallorum et Itolorum landra <cf. Du Cange Landra Italis meretrix> in mentem venire.*

¹ The passages in square brackets belong to a revision of the MS. made in the late autumn, whereas the first copy was sent in the spring.

² For this reference I am indebted to Professor Minton Warren.

Du Cange also treats the word, from whom I cite as follows: *Landica ἐσχαράδιον* Thuribulum in supplemento antiquarii. Exponerem canterius focarius. . . In Valesianis p. 93, laudatur Glossar. Gr. Lat., ubi ἐσχάρα γυναικεία . . . (Adde ex. *Castigat. in utrumque Glossar. Leg. ἐσχάρα γυναικεία*, Vulc<anius> alibi ἐσχάρα exponitur craticula. . .)

A fair inference, in view of the facts of usage cited, seems to be that *landica* in the sense 'clitoris' was good classical Latin, but that in late times a word *landica* meaning 'craticula, thuribulum' (=gridiron, censor) had come into use.

For *landica* 'clitoris' I have the following suggestion to offer: it stands for **(g)landica* and is a diminutive to *glans* (stem *glandi-*): that is to say **(g)landica* (sc. *clitoridis*, whence by synecdoche *landica*=*clitoris*) is a diminutive to *glans* (sc. *penis*), after the pattern of a pair like *postis/postica*.¹ The loss of the *g-* may be ascribed to the dissimilative effect of the following syllable *-ca* (cf. *lacte* for **glacte*), or be accounted dialectal: cf. Span. *lande* 'glans,' *landre* 'glandular swelling,'² a group in which most other Romance tongues retain the *g-* of *glans*. Some uncertainty remains, however, for *landica*, defined by 'pars celata,' may be regarded as a cognate of *λανθάει* 'hides' (: Lat. *latet*); or if defined by something like German 'rute,' *landica* may belong with the following lemma of Du Cange: *london*, vox gallica, Fustis brevior et crassior qui canibus ad collum appenditur ne excurrant. [Possibly *lanista* 'fencing-master' is derived from the base *land-*, whence dialectally *lann-*, and *lan(n)ista* by the 'law of mamilla.' The suffix is that of citharista, sicinnista, petaurista, danista. The Greek suffix *ιστης* would seem to have had a considerable productivity on Italian territory, as it still lives actively in English. Or *lanista* is an extension of *lanius* 'butcher' with suffix as indicated.]

The second interpretation by 'craticula' (gridiron) may be defended as follows: either by comparing *ἐσχαρίον* 'pan-of-coals, brazier' (or 'cradle for launching ships'); or by adducing Celtic **lannā* or **landā* (see Stokes, in Fick's *Woert.* ii. p. 239), the base of Ir. *lann* .i. gréidil no roistín, and of Old Cornish *lann*, glossed by 'sartago' (=roasting-pan).

But are we not, after all, to fix on *culpam* as the obscene word in the passage? How shall we define it? A little later, Vergil (*Aen.* 4, 19, 172),—and the locution is general enough,—makes Dido use *culpa* specifically of her unchastity, and her temptation thereto. But *culpa* 'unchastity' would seem hardly to satisfy the requirements of this passage, where, in order, *anus*, *penis*, *cunnus* (inferred from *cum nos*) immediately precede and *liberis dare operam*, *Κόννος* (i.e. *cunnus*), *bini* (i.e. *βίβεϊ*), and *mentula* immediately follow our sentence. Some meaning like *puenda* (*muliebria*) seems to me natural for *culpa* here.

¹ For *ī* see Otto in *I.F.* 15. 35 sq.

² In view of this meaning, comparing the gloss *glandiolae quae circa collum et in inguinibus nasci solent χοιράδες*, it may be that we should correct the gloss from *landica ἐσχαράδιον* to *(g)landicis χοιράδων*.

But, on the other hand, a scholiast to Aristophanes explained the plural of *ἐσχάρα* by τὰ χεῖλη τῶν γυναικείων αἰδολῶν (see Liddell and Scott, *Lex. s.v.*, vi).

It is possible, but I think, in view of the fact that no gloss nor other like authority records such a sense, not probable, that *culpa* may have come by this meaning by legitimate metaphor from its primary meaning. In *Am. Jr. Phil.* 24, 73, I derived *culpa* from the same root as *sculpat* 'cuts, graves, scratches,' and defined it as 'scratch, blemish, fault.' I then supported the definition merely by Lat. *nota* 'cut, mark, blemish.' But there are plenty of other parallels available: Eng. *crack* and Germ. *gebrechen*; *macula* 'spot, blemish, fault': *macit* 'beats, hacks, cuts' (cf. *micat* 'brandishes, darts, flashes,' decomposite to *dimicat* 'fights'); Skr. *chidrām* (: *chid-* 'scindit') (1) 'hole, slit'; (2) defect, flaw, blemish; (3) weakness, foible.' Similarly we might define *culpa* by (1) 'hole, slit, gash' (Cic. *Fam.* 9, 22?); (2) defect, flaw, blemish, fault (passim); (3) weakness, foible' (Vergil, *Aen.* 4, 19). If the etymological sense of 'hole, slit, gash' be taken as a point of departure we may justify the definition of *culpa* by 'cunnus' by noting the same development for Germ. *schlits* (=slit), as defined in Grimm's *Woert.*, s.v., 5. Nearly the same metaphor occurs in bonum sensum when Mrs. Stowe uses gash for 'mouth' (see the *Oxford Dict.*, s.v.).¹

But in a context where Cicero mentions several Latin words that were counted obscene because they echoed the obscene words of Greek one may wonder if here also the whole point is not made on the fact that *culpam*, particularly if pronounced in the older form *colpam*, suggested Gr. *κόλπος* in its sense of 'womb, uterus.'² In view of all its senses, we are certainly justified in defining *κόλπος* by 'hollow,' i.e. cut out, and grouping it with the cognates of *kelp-*³ (see Uhlenbeck, *ai. Woert.* s.v. *kālpate*), among them *culpa*.

But *κόλπος* has also been connected with Goth. *hwilfri* 'coffin,' base *kwelp-* (see, e.g., Prellwitz, *Gr. Woert.* s.v.; and Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³, § 21, 9, who queries the relation). This cognation is semantically possible, but not semantically compelling. It raises the phonetic question of the Greek (and Latin) treatment of proethnic *kw*, to the consideration of which I now address myself.

(2) DO GREEK *κ*-, LATIN *v*- REPRESENT *kw*-?

Literature: Wiedemann, *I.F.*, 1, 255 sq. (dated 1891, published 1892); Joh. Schmidt, *K.Z.* 32, 405 sq. (dated 1891, published 1892); Hoffmann, *B.B.* 18, 287 (1892); Solmsen, *K.Z.* 33, 294 sq. (dated 1892, published 1895); Zupitza, *Die germanischen Gutturale*, Berlin, 1896 (not accessible to me).

Brugmann, *Grundriss*², § 341, § 633; *Kurze V. Gr.* § 157, 3; § 158, 3; *Griech. Gr.*² § 21, 9; Stolz, *Lat. Gram.* § 46, *Anm.* 1; Sommer, *Lat. Gram.* p. 227.

Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, p. 299; Hirt, *Griech. Gram.* § 199; § 221, *Anm.* 2; *B.B.* 24, 288; [*I.F.* 17, 388]; Thumb, *I.F.* 11, 24.

¹ Cf. the equivoque in Thos. Heywood's *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, ii. 2, *init.*: . . . whom should we meet just in the nick . . .: Just in the nick, man! :: In the highway I meant, sir.

² Much more explicit is the following: τὸ δὲ γυναικίον αἰδοῖον καὶ κόλπος ἀνόμεσται γυναικίος (Rose's *Soranus*, § 16, p. 181). In modern medical

terminology *colpo-* is very common in the sense of 'vaginal.'

³ Semantically comparable are Germ. *scheide*, Lat. *vulva* (cf. *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 52, fn. 3); also Lat. *vagina*, if it belongs with (F) *ἀγνῶσι* 'breaks'; see also Skeat, *Concise Etym. Dict.* s.v. *Sheath*.

The question asked in my title is answered in the affirmative by nearly all the authorities cited. Lindsay exhibits some reserve, and so, possibly, does Stolz (?), but Hirt and Thumb feel difficulties on the side of physiological phonetics, in that *kw* and *kw̥* yield different products both in Latin and in Greek. They teach, therefore, that *v* is the Latin, and *ππ* the Greek product of both, while *κ-*, in the words that follow, comes from a proethnic doublet *k/kw*. I feel with Hirt that *π(π)* is what we have the right to expect in Greek, and I have no doubt at all that as *qu* is the normal Latin product of *kw*,¹ so we should expect the same product from *kw*.

Everybody knows that the phonetic laws one propounds depend on the etymologies one accepts, and in the present condition of linguistic science we do not accept etymologies whose recognition entails the acceptance of conflicting phonetic laws. The law now under discussion depends ultimately, as Joh. Schmidt clearly recognized, on a single etymology. This I propose now to examine.

i. Gr. *καπνός*: Lat. *vapor*: Lith. *kvāpas*.

Wiedemann defines *kvāpas* by 'duft, geruch, atem, hauch' (: *kvēpti* 'duften, hauchen'); Stowasser defines Lat. *vapor* by 'dampf, dunst, brodem'; and Menge defines *καπνός* by 'rauch, dampf, dunst'; and the words seem admirably adapted, at first glance, to furnish material for phonetic deductions. On the other hand, the words have different suffixes, and their definitions comprise eight different words, of varying semantic histories, to which we may add, for a ninth, *καπνός* 'schmauch.' It may then be that we have three different words, with accidental rhyme in *-ap-*, not cognate, but possibly affinate, as I believe Lat. *capit* and *rapit* to be; cf. also the rhyming pair Skr. *kṛ̥mis* and Lat. *vermis*; Skr. *açru* 'tear': Gr. *δάκρυ*: Lat. *lacruma*, parallel to the verbs *açnāti* 'eats' (bites), *δάκνει* 'bites,' *lacerat* 'bites, tears': no matter if *lacruma* is for *dacruma* (but this form used by Livius Andronicus may be Greekish), yet the popular etymology is true to the original semantic concept (Petr. *B.B.* 25, 150, entirely separates *lacrima* and *dacruma*); Germ. *schmauch* and *rauch* also constitute a rhyming pair. Rhyming synonyms, in so far as they constitute an association group, must be esteemed, if not cognate, at least something that we may designate as affinate.

Assuming for the sake of argument that *kvāpas*, *καπνός*, and *vapor* are not cognate, I turn to the suggestion of other possible explanations for the Greek and Latin words.

The first example for *καπνός* cited by Liddell and Scott is from Pindar, *κνισᾶντι*² *καπνῷ*. As in the Latin phrase 'religione obstrictos' we may gather from 'obstrictos' a clue to the etymological sense of 'religione,' so *κνισᾶντι* may show us how to account for *καπνός*. We may render *κνισᾶντι καπνῷ* by 'nidoso fumo,' *nidor* and *κνῖσα* having the etymological sense of 'quod

¹ See below, No. 2, x, end.

² Christ reads *κνισῶντι*.

rodit' (see Prellwitz [and Walde] in their lexica, and Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ § 15, 5). The metaphor is common: cf., e.g., recens exstinctum lumen ubi acri | nidore offendit nares (Lucretius) and lacrimosus fumus (Horace).

With *κνῖσα* belongs *κόνις* 'dust': for the relation of meaning cf. Eng. *dust* 'κόνις': Germ. *dunst* 'κνῖσα, καπνός.' If accordingly we define *καπνός* as 'the stinging, irritating,' there are two bases—of ultimate identity—to which it may be referred, viz.: (1) **■)kap-/s)kabh-**, attested by Lith. *karóti* 'hacken, hauen,' *skabūs* 'sharp, acer': Gr. *κάπετος* 'pit, hole,' *σκάπτει* 'digs, cuts' (see Prellwitz, *l.c.*, *s.vv.*), Lith. *skaroti* 'shaves, slices,' Lat. *scapulae* ('shoulder-blades'; recall the neolithic use of the shoulder-blades for digging). Ultimately the root was **■)kēp-/s)kōp-**: cf. Gr. *σκάπτει* 'carpit,' *κοπίς* 'knife,' *ῥσκέπαρνον* 'axe': Skr. *cipitās* 'abgestumpft, platt' (?).

A second metaphor from which *καπνός* may have derived its meaning is exhibited in *Il.* 1,317, cited as the first example in Leo Meyer's *Griech. Etym.*:

κνῖση δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκεν ἐλίσσομένη περὶ καπνῷ;

Curtius, 8, 7 has *evolutus e tuguriis fumus*, just as in modern metaphor smoke is that which 'eddy, curls, wreathes, makes rings': cf. *καπνός ἀποθρόσκων* (*Odyssey*). For this conception we may adduce Skr. *capalās* 'beweglich, schwankend, unstet' (of the wind in native lexica), *cāpas* 'bow,' for which Uhlenbeck, *ai. Woert.*, *s.vv.*, writes a root **kēp-** 'sich krümmen.' With this group we associate Lat. *capilli* 'hair,' recalling that Catullus (61, 79) names the flame (or the smoke?) of the torch its hair. We must then assume for *capilli* a like semantic history to that of one of our English words for hair, viz., 'locks' (see Skeat, *Concise Etym. Dict.*, *s.v.*). The base *καμπ-* 'to bend,' cognate with **kēp-**, is of frequent use in Greek: cf. Prellwitz, *s.vv.* *κάμπη*, *καμπή*. Individually, I do not doubt that the base **kēp-** 'to bend, crook' derives from **■)kēp-** 'to cut,' by a metaphor easy to understand from 'cut, hollow, sloping, rolling': cf. the semantic note in *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 378, and especially note Gr. *κουρά* 'capillus.'

Nor are the possibilities yet exhausted: Skr. *kṣāp* 'night' is at least a possible cognate of Gr. *σκέπας* 'roof, cover' (cf. Prellwitz, *s.v.*), and from a base **■)kēp-** 'to cover' *καπνός* 'smoke' (*i.e.* a pall of smoke) might come, as well as *kṣāp* 'night' (a pall of darkness: cf. *Aen.* 12, 592, *caelum subtexere fumo*). The base **■)kēp-** 'to cover' may again be but a special development from **■)kēp-** 'to cut' (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 185, 19). Thus in three ways, semantically plausible, we have seen how a phonetically justified *καπνός* may have a source not necessarily identical with Lith. *kvāpas*.

On the other hand, Homeric *ἀπὸ- . . ἐκάπυσσεν* (*Il.* 22, 467), with its German definition of 'aushauchte,' will be cited as semantic proof positive of the cognation *καπνός*: *kvāpas*. But here Lang, Leaf, and Myres render by 'gasped' (forth her spirit), which is a very different metaphor: German 'ausstossen' would be etymologically appropriate for this context. For the precise sense of *gasp*, I cite from

the *Oxford Dictionary*: 'The root *gap* (see *gape*, v.), whence Ger. Dial. *gapsen* "to gape for breath," belongs to a different vowel series, but the sense of "opening" is apparently common to both.' Also note that O. Norse *geipsa*, cognate with *gasp*, means 'to yawn.' It is reasonable then to define *καπύειν* by 'to gasp, gape, yawn,' and ascribe it to the base *s)kēp-* 'to split' (*καπύειν* denominative to **κάπυς* 'a split, crack, a gape, yawn': cf. Hesychian *κάπυς* πνεῦμα); *κάφος* (*Etym. Mag.*) 'breath,' if worthy of credence, would seem to vindicate the variation *skap-/skaph-*: cf. also Homeric *κεκαφηότα θυμόν* 'having gasped out his spirit.' In this connection we may note Germ. *klaffen* 'to bark, yelp, gape, yawn, split open.' These definitions, in reversed order, 'to split, yawn,' etc., are found in Lat. *hiscit, hiat*: *ghē(y)-* (cf. Prellwitz, *l.c.*, s.v. *χάσκω*, but, for the definition, *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 203, 398). To this root, also, belongs Lat. *an-helare* 'to gasp,' with a true and not an 'inorganic' *h-*. In view of *hālare*, it may be well to derive from **hāslare*: cf., with a different vocalism, Skr. *hāsati* 'laughs,' but also, of a flower, 'opens.' For further semantic illustration note Eng. *barks*, which may mean, in the last analysis, 'breaks' (see the *Century* and *Oxford Dictionaries*, s.v.).

If we are right in defining *καπύει* strictly by 'gasps,' then in Hesychian *κάπος* ψυχῇ, πνεῦμα [*<ἀπος>* καὶ ὁ φοίνικος φλοιός, ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπται ὁ καρπός. καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἔκφυσις. (τινὲς δὲ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. οὐκ εὖ—these definitions 'bark, husk,' look in the direction of *s)kēp-* 'to cut'], πνεῦμα will admit of the interpretation 'gasp' (see L. and Sc., s.v.), while ψυχῇ may mean quasi θυμός (cf. Lat. *fumus*).

It is time to turn to Lat. *vapor* and search for its possible cognates. Its most immediate homonym, say, is (1) Avestan *vafra-* 'snow.' For the meaning cf. Germ. *duft* 'vapor': O.H.G. *tuft* 'frost': not without importance is (lexical) Sanskrit *vapras* *'dust.' In Sanskrit there are two roots *vap-*, of which one means 'to shear,' but this sense I take to be specialized from an earlier sense of 'to pierce, split, cut.' Derivatives of this root are *vāpus* 'forma, corpus' (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 175), *vāpus* 'formosus, mirus'; *vapras* *'dust, κόνις' (= fragments from cutting or breaking); *vāpī* 'trench (for water)'. In Avestan *vī-vap-* 'disicere: to destroy, lay waste,' we have a different specialization of meaning.¹ With this root we may join *vapor*, either specifically as suggested for *vapras*, or generally as 'the acrid, sharp' (? cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 5, 683, *lentusque carinus | est vapor*).² Further European cognates may be found in Gr. *ἡπίολος* 'a moth destructive of the honeycombs' (Lat. *vappo* moth; for the semantic problem cf. Kluge's *Woert.* s.v. *made*). Here also Lat. *vepris* 'briar, thorn' (?).

(2) But Skr. has a second *vāpati* 'strews, scatters, throws,' twice construed in *R. V.* with the object *mih-* 'mist'; its ptc. *uptās* means 'covered': cf. *abhi-vāpati* 'covers' and *anu-vāpate* 'zerstieben macht' (= causes to fly into dust). There is no difficulty in maintaining a direct connection between Lat. *vapor* 'mist' and the usage and definition of *2√vap-* as just cited: *vapor* is 'that which covers'; cf. Skr.

¹ I deprecate too great refinement of definition in words that have reached us after nobody knows how many centuries of unrecorded colloquial usage: for an instance in point we may take Fr. *couper* from

**colopare* 'to box on the jaw,' but how generalized and then how specialized in definition.

² In Lucretius *vapor* = heat.

vap̃ā 'caul' (caul from Fr. *cale* 'a little cap'; but cf. *δέρπον* 'caul,' as explained in *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 172, which allows of the connection of *vap̃ā* with $1\sqrt{vap-}$).

(3) There is yet another homonymous group with which we may connect *vapor*: O.E. *wafian* 'to wave with the hand, to wonder at (cf. Skr. *vāpus* 'mirus'), to waver in mind,' with its adj. *wæfre* 'waving, restless': cf. O. Norse *vafra*, *vafra* 'to waver,' Bavarian *wabern* 'to sway to and fro,' O. Norse *vafa*. That *vapor* may belong to this group seems to me as clear as to Wharton in his *Etyma Latina*.¹ Here also Gr. *ῥπίαλος* 'shaking chill, ague': cf. *ῥπίολος* 'moth' (= flutterer?).

That sense No. 1 'to cut, strike' and sense No. 2 'to strew, cover' may be common to one and the same root is a point I have elsewhere tried to establish (*Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 185, 19; 189, 26). Sense No. 3 'to shake, vibrate' is also combinable with the others. I take the ultimate base for all three senses to have been (*wē(y)*- 'to split' > <splice,' extended as set down in *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 194, 36; 202, 51; for the sense 'to vibrate' see *ib.* 378, 55. Further cf. Lat. *fumus* 'smoke' (: Skr. *dhūnōti* 'shakes'; see *ib.* 377, 53) with *vapor* 'mist' from a base meaning 'to shake.'

No cogent phonetic reason will hinder us from connecting *vāpulat*, with the curious passive meaning 'is beaten,' with *vapor*. True, the *a* of *vapor* represents *ə*; and if *vepris* properly belongs with it, the base is to be written *wēp-*; but a secondarily lengthened *ā* (from *ē*) not infrequently intrudes into an *ē/ō* series. Still the semantic correlation of *vāpulat* and *vapor* is not easy. But in English we have a curious parallel metaphor in the verb 'to smoke,' which occurs in Shakespeare in the sense of 'to beat, thrash' (cf. *King John*, ii. 1, 139), and in the neuter sense 'to be beaten, punished' (*Tit. Andronicus*, iv. 2, 111). Nor does this metaphor arise, it would seem, from 'burning at the stake,' but rather from 'beating the dust out of an object.' So the verb 'to dust,' not only in Early English, but now, has the sense 'to thrash.'²

Three Plautine contexts gain in point when this sense is applied to their interpretation:

Aul. 3, 3, 9 (457) coctum ego, non uapulatum dudum conductus fui,

'I was hired to boil, not to smoke.'

Ps. 1, 1, 15 (13) sub Veneris regno uapulo, non sub Iovis,

'I smoke beneath Love's tyranny, not Jove's.'

St. 5, 5, 10 (751) uapulat peculium, actum est,

'My money smokes (cf. dissipatur); 'tis gone.'

(The possible equivocation in *peculium* may be noted in passing.)

¹ [So also Danielson and Johansson as cited by Walde.]

² I cite the following authorities for the words: *Cent. Dict.*, s.v. smoke, 7. 'To suffer as from overwork or hard treatment; be punished. . . . 8. to emit dust, as when beaten; . . . trans. 6. to raise

dust from by beating; "dust"; *Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. dust, v. 1. '7 a) trans. to beat, thrash; b) intrans. to strike, beat' (citations for each use from 1612): 'cf. dust v. 2' <much earlier, of same sense, but of untraced origin>.

To recapitulate here: If *καπνός* means

- (1) 'the sharp, biting, stinging' it may be cognate with

Lith. <i>kapóti</i> 'hacken, hauen'	<i>skabūs</i> 'sharp'
O.B. <i>kopati</i> 'digs, rows'	<i>σκάπτει</i> 'digs, cuts'
Lat. <i>scapulae</i> 'shoulder-blades'	<i>κάπετος</i> 'pit, hole';

- (2) 'the wreathing, curling' it may belong with

Skr. <i>capalás</i> 'shifting, unsteady'; 'wind' (native lexica)	
Skr. <i>cāpas</i> 'bow'	Lat. <i>capilli</i> 'locks of hair';

- (3) 'that which covers' it may belong with

Skr. <i>kṣāp</i> 'night'	<i>σκέπας</i> 'cover, roof.'
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The common root of all three groups may be written as **s)kēp-** **s)kēbh-**, with the normal vowel grades, and the definition 'to cut, slice.'

Following a similar arrangement for *vapor*, we have a table as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------------------|
| (1) | Skr. <i>vāpati</i> 'shears' | Av. <i>vī-vap-</i> 'disicere' |
| | Skr. <i>vāpras</i> * 'dust' | Av. <i>vafra-</i> 'snow' |
| | Lat. <i>vepris</i> 'briar' | { <i>vāp̄ro</i> 'moth' |
| | | { <i>ἡπίολος</i> |
| (2) | ('that which shakes, quivers'; cf. Skr. <i>dhūnóti</i> 'shakes': Lat. <i>fumus</i>). | |
| | O.E. <i>wāfian</i> 'to beckon, wonder at' | wæfre 'waving, restless' |
| | Skr. <i>vāpus</i> 'mirus' | Bavar. <i>wabern</i> 'to sway about' |
| | <i>ἡπίολος</i> 'shaking chill, ague,' cf. | { <i>ἡπίολος</i> 'moth' |
| | | { <i>vāp̄ro</i> } (= the flutterer?) |
| (3) | Skr. <i>vāpati</i> 'strews, covers' | <i>vāpā</i> 'caul.' |

The common base here is **wē-p-**, and its derivatives admit of the same definitions for it as for **s)kēp-**.

If we thus find cognates for *καπνός* and *vapor*, what are we to do with Lith. *kvāpas*? Instead of writing a common base **kwāp-**, of which *kap-* and *vap* are, respectively, simplifications in which now -f- and now k- have been lost, I suggest that it is no less reasonable to divine in **kwāp-** a proethnic syncretic product of **s)kēp-** and **wāp-**. This syncretic base is, I realize, no less (and no more) 'glottogonic' than Hirt's phonetics, whereby **kw-** and **k-** were varying initial groups; but it has this to commend it, viz.: that there was a something special to tempt to the syncretism, to wit, a synonymous base **kwes-**, attested by Skr. *ḥvāsiti* 'breathes, gasps, sighs.' What are we to say of the pair **kwes-** and **kwāp-**? They fall, in my opinion, into the group of 'determinative' phenomena of which a particularly transparent example is furnished by three bases for 'trembles,' viz.: **tres-** (in Skr. *trāsati*, Gr. *τρέει*), **trep-** (in Lat. *trepidus*, O.B. *trepētī*), **trem-** (in Lat. *tremīt*, Gr. *τρέμει*)—all cognate with Skr. *tavalás* 'trembling' (cf. Brugmann, *Kurze V. Gr.* § 367). The variation between **kw-** and **k-** gives a special complexion to this case: is it that **kw** was palatalized in the syllable **kwes-**, but left a plain guttural in **kwāp-**, or conversely that **kw-** was depalatalized by the labial sequence

in *k̑wep-*? But still another base adds to the complications, to wit, the base *k̑ās-/kās-* of Germ. *husten* (see Kluge, *s.v.*): Skr. *kāsate* 'coughs,' cognate with English *whooshes* (O.E. *hwēsan*).

Instead of having a proethnic contamination before us, it may be that we should recognize only a Balto-Slavic one. The *k-* of *kvāpas*, alongside of Lat. *vapor*, may be 'inorganic,' due to some contamination starting from the base of which O.B. *kaditi* 'räuchern' may be taken as the representative.

ii. Lat. *invitus, invitare*.

The next group on which this phonetic law is based is O. Pruss. *quāits* 'voluntas,' Lith *kvė'cziū* 'invito,' Gr. *κοῖται γυναικῶν ἐπιθυμίαι* (cf. *κίσσα*, same sense, somewhat specialized, quasi 'whim'): Lat. *invitus* 'unwilling,' *invitat* 'invites,' Skr. *kētas* 'desire.' The cognations here asserted are most uncertain. If *invitus* means 'unwilling,' why not put it with Skr. *vēti* 'seeks' (ptc. *vītās*): Gr. *ἴεται* (cf. Lat. *vis* 'thou wilt': Skr. *vēsi*, an etymology of considerable vogue)? But *invitus* may rather mean 'coactus' (cf. *libens quam coactus*, Tacitus, *Ann.* 14, 61, 6), or 'loth' (so Wharton, in his *Etyma Latina*). I believe *invitus* to be a compound, and to mean something like Germ. 'angebunden,' Eng. 'constrained,' while *invitat* means 'constrains, urges, presses, urgently invites' [as for example in Plautus, *Trin.* 27,

invitus, ni id me invitet ut faciam fides

'under constraint, unless honour constrained me so to do';

Rud. 590,

si invitare nos paulisper pergeret

ibidem obdormissemus

'had he gone on constraining us a little longer, there we'd have had our final sleep'].

In the glosses (see Goetz, ii. 424, 19) *invito* is defined by 'I urge on, impel.' As to Skr. *kētas*, it belongs, in my opinion, with the verb *c̑tati* 'observes, notes,' but also 'wishes, desires'; the notion of 'will' further appears in *cittām, c̑ttis, cetas, cintā*. The vocalism is duplicated in Gr. *κοῖται, κίσσα* (of the cravings and longings of pregnant women); their meaning is also accordant with Lith. *kaitrā* 'fire-glow,' *kaitrūs* 'heating, heat-giving': Skr. *ketūs* 'light' (cf. also *cetūs* 'anxiety'), Goth. *heito* 'heat, fever' (note Eng. *heat* used specifically of the period of sexual desire of the female). On the semantic side the correlation of 'thought' (Skr. *cetas*) and 'will' (Skr. *kētas*) is attested by the pair Lat. *mens: μένος*. Beside the base *k̑ēy-t-* 'to think, purpose, desire' we have to note a root *k̑ēy-(s)-*, attested by Lat. *quaero, quaeso* (? from *k̑ēy-s-so*, or *k̑ēy-t-to*); cf. also *cura* from *k̑ōis-a*: Pael. *coisatens* 'curaverunt.' In O. Pruss. *quāits* 'voluntas' we seem to have to recognize a base *k̑wēy-t-* 'velle,' contaminated from the bases *k̑ēy-, k̑ēy-s-* (? *k̑wēy-s-*), plus an infection from the synonymous base *wēy-* 'to seek, desire.'

iii. and iv. *κάλπη* 'trot'; *κόλπος* 'bosom, womb, bay, vale.'

Schmidt's Hesychius has the following entries *κάλπη* ἵππος βαδιστής, καὶ εἶδος δρόμου, *καλπάζει* ὀξυπόδης σακκάζει <ἀκρίζει?>, but also note *σκαλαπάζει* ῥέμβεται and *σκαλαπάζειν* ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν [ὀξυποδεῖ Cyr., in Schmidt, *edit min.*, col. 802 fn.]. Here the *σκ*-forms agree in definition with O. Pruss. *po-quelbton* 'knieend' better than the *κ*-forms. But I find a simple and sufficient base for the Greek words in *s)kelp-* 'to cut,' whose synonym *s)kerp-* (cf. Uhlenbeck, *ai. Woert. s.v. krpānas*) exhibits in Lat. *carpit* (viam, iter) the sense of 'picks, pursues one's way.' Perhaps *κάλπη* means explicitly 'loose,' and as a form of race it actually seemed to involve the rider's dismounting; then its relation to *s)kelp-* 'to cut loose' is clear. For the development of the sense 'to run' from the sense 'to cut' I refer to *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 198.

The explanation of *κόλπος* from the same root *s)kelp-* has already been given above (No. 1, end).

v. Lat. *vannus*.

Fick's connection of *vannus* 'winnowing-fan,' *vannere* 'to winnow' with O.H.G. *hwennan* 'to winnow' has also been defended by the law that *kw-* yields Lat. *v*. Fick's first proposal, however, was to ascribe *vannus* to the root *wē-* 'to blow,' a connection most satisfactory on the semantic side, if we note that Lat. *ventilat* as well as Eng. *winnows* (cf. Skeat, *l.c., s.v.*) both mean explicitly 'to cleanse grain by getting it blown by the wind' (see also Uhlenbeck, *ai. Woert. s.v. vātī*). The precise base from which *vannus* comes cannot be definitely made out; we may think of *wə-snos*, or, as it is an agricultural word, of *wəp-nos*, which would yield, in a vulgar pronunciation, *vannus*. As to the *-p-*, note the causative *vāpāyati*, with which O.E. *wafian* and its kin (see above, p. 19) may be grouped. The first *n* in *vannus* may also be identical with the *n* of *ventus* 'wind.' On *vannus* see also Kluge, *s.v. Wanne*, and Uhlenbeck, *got. Woert. s.v. diswinthan*.

vi. Gr. κτήματα: πάματα.

[In *I.F.* 17, 388, which had escaped my notice in the preparation of this article, Hirt again maintains his objections to the current doctrine touching the Greek and Latin treatment of *kw-*. We may safely pass over his insistence on the equation κτήματα=πάματα, as he sets up a base *kwē-*, which has no immediate bearing on the problem under discussion. For my own part, I believe these words to have no more necessary connection with one another than Lat. *captum* with *raptum*. None of the examples cited in the handbooks to prove that *kþ-* yielded Latin *s-* seems to me to carry conviction, and in view of ἄρκος and ἀρκίλος I cannot think that the equation ἄρκτος=ursus 'bear' proves *-kþ-* for this group. It may well be that *-τος* and *-sus* are different suffixes. I am inclined provisionally to suggest that κτήματα 'possessions' belongs with Lat. *tenet* 'holds, possesses.']

vii. Latin *vitrum* 'glass.'

[Hirt apparently has a much stronger etymology in the equation *vitrum* 'glass': Skr. *çvitās* 'white,' 'was Pedersen, *K.Z.* 36, 306, eine durchaus tadellose Etymologie

nennt.' But I fancy that any explanation of *vitrum* 'glass' that does not also account for *vitrum* 'woad' will in the long run fail to satisfy. That these words are identical seems to me as certain as to Schrader (*Reallexikon*, s.v. Waid) and Stowasser (*Latin Lexicon*). I think chiefly of the dull ordinary bluish glass I have seen at Pompeii, but we may also think of the splendid blue of the Portland and Naples vases. Though the name of the woad seems better established than almost any other plant name in the European languages, a blue glass-like mineral may have been the first source of a body-paint, subsequently replaced by the woad plant, which took the name. The Greek name for woad, *ἰσάρις*, has a suffix found in names of minerals, e.g. Graeco-Latin *aspisatis*, *limoniatis*, *hydatis*, as well as in names of plants, e.g. *batis*, *clybatis*, *bucconiatis*, *clematis*. In early German the plant is named *waisda*, Gothic *wisdila* (see Schrader, l.c.). For the Greek and Germanic names a base **widh-/wē(y)-dh-** suggests itself, for the Latin **wi-d-**. This brings us to the definition 'splitting,' and to the base of Latin 'di-vidit.' The woad plant is described as many branching, 'quod se dividit.' If a mineral is to be sought, one would think of azurite in some of its low grades, the source of the paint known as mountain blue, and a material used by the Egyptians in making glass (cf. Blümner, *Technologie*, 4, 502). The mineral, whether by its fractures, or as ground up for paint, also lends itself to the definition 'quod dividitur.' These are vague definitions, but no more so than when we explain *δρῦς* 'arbor' as 'quod finditur' or the vine *κληματὶς* as 'quod frangitur' (cf. Skeat, l.c., s.v. *clematis*), though here our definition is helped by the intermediate stage, *κληματὶς* 'brush-wood.' Also note the Sanskrit plant names *vidāris* 'Hedysarum' (named for its splitting pods?), and *vidālas* 'Bauhinia variegata' (used in dyeing and tanning). Gothic *wisdila* even looks like a compound, **widh-tela* 'dividens-ramos' (? - *tela* ultimately: Lat. *talea* 'shoot, cutting') or 'dividens-acies' (? ultimately: Skr. *talam* 'surface'), a not unfit designation of a crystalline mineral. All of this we may dismiss as speculation, but we are still left with the unquestionable residuum *vitrum* '(blue) glass' = *vitrum* '(blue) woad,' with primitive **w-**.]

viii. Latin *canis*.

[Instead of deriving *canis* from *k̑w-nis* with Hirt, I think we must rather set up a paradigm **cu(v)ō*, gen. **cunīs*, shifted to *canis* under the influence of *catulus* 'young animal, puppy' (see Walde, s.v.), and perhaps influenced by *canit* quasi 'yelps,' with meaning, as in *κλάζει* 'shrieks' (of birds), 'barks' (of dogs), 'twangs' (of arrows), 'shouts, sings' (of men).]

ix. Latin *cāseus*.

The equation of *caseus* 'cheese' with O.B. *kvasū* 'fermentum' may be correct, but no valid inference, I think, can be drawn from it for the treatment of **kw-**. It does not demand discussion at this time when I am seeking to establish two negative conclusions, (1) that there is no good evidence to prove that **kw-** yields Greek *κ*, Lat. *v-*; (2) and no good evidence for **k̑w-** yielding Lat. *v-*; but I suspect that Plautine *cassat* = *quassat* gives us a right to regard *cāseus* as dialectic for

**quaseus*. I have small doubt that *cāseus* (older form *cāseum*, neuter) is derived from **lac quassum*, with suffix like the suffix of *cereus* or *farreus*. A semantic parallel in Skr. *ghandás* 'compact,' *ghanīkaroti* 'curdles.' In Germany the cheese-maker calls his curds at a certain stage "Bruch." Also note Greek γάλα σχιστόν 'curds.' Or was cheese *cibus q(u)aseus* 'the crumbling food'; or 'the rotten food' (cf. the gloss *quassum σαθρόν*)?

I do not minimize the difficulty of -ās- for -āss-, but **quāsus* is not more perplexing than *cāsus* 'fallen,' not adequately explained by the assumption found in Sommer's *Gram.* p. 642; or if explained, just as *strūctus* is modelled on *frūctus*, so *quā(s)sus* 'shaken' may have been affected by *cāsus* 'fallen,' for a time at least.]

x. Latin *ut, ubi, uter*.

[I do not feel, as many scholars seem to have felt, constrained to derive this group from the interrogative-relative stem *k^wu-*, and I entirely reject the position that the Latin product of *k^wu-* was *u-*, as phonetic laws deduced from one example are rarely convincing. Long ago I brought *ut* into correlation with Skr. *utá* 'itaque' (*Am. Jr. Phil.* 15, 417 fn. 2), of demonstrative origin (see Brugmann, *Denom.* p. 100). Greek *ὅς*, plainly of denominative origin, has developed almost every sense of *ut*, save the full interrogative usage. The derivation of a relative from a demonstrative is also attested by German *der*. From the self-same demonstrative stem, it may be assumed, comes *ubi*, a very convenient match, with its initial vowel, for its correlative *ibi*; from the same stem also *u-ter* (see Brugmann, *l.c.* 107).

In the rivalry between the demonstrative-relatives *ut* and *ubi* and the interrogative-relatives **k^wut-s* (cf. Osc. *pous, puz* 'ut') and **k^wubei* (cf. Umbr. *pufe*) 'ubi' the forms without *qu-* 'prevailed.' That false divisions like *nec-ubi* and *alic-ubi* lent a helping hand to this result is also not improbable.

The phonetic laws which I hold for *k^w-* and *kw-* result from the following etymologies:

(1) *k^w* is exhibited by Skr. *çvasiti*: Lat. *queritur*.

(2) *kw* is exhibited by O. Pruss. *quāits* 'voluntas,' Lat. *quaerit* 'vult,' Gr.-παραματα 'quaesita' (cf. Collitz, *B.B.* 18, 213).

I find the base of *queritur* also in English *whines*, *k^wě(y)-*¹, with a parallel *k^wes-*, and a variant *k^wōy-s* in Pael. *coisatens* 'curans.']

(3) *negumate*.

Some seven or eight years ago I completed a MS. reviewing the evidence for Lat. *av* from *ow*, a small part of which was published in *Am. Jr. Phil.* 20, 90 sq. (1899), in a review of Horton-Smith's essay on The Law of Thurneysen and Havet. I dealt further with the subject in *Studies in Honour of B. L.*

² A highly interesting form is Lat. *quiritat* doublet, with reduced vocalism, of *quaesitus* closer to *whines*, closer in meaning to *queritur*, but in voice, to *quaerit*. vocalism, and formation (**qubritus* being a rhotacised

Gildersleeve, 189–203. An unpublished portion of the earlier MS. seems to me now worth imparting in its original form, as follows:

'In the course of his essay Mr. Horton-Smith allows himself to accept the current explanations of Lat. *autumat* 'affirms' and Gr. *ólerai* 'deems' as denominatives to *owl-s* 'bird.' On the semantic side I have all the scepticism of Kretschmer (*K.Z.* 31, 455), with whom I do not agree when he derives *ólerai* and Lat. *ómen*, *osmen* from **óvi-s*. I see no reason why Varro's derivation of *omen* from *os* 'mouth' is not correct. As for *ólerai* 'deems,' *óíō* 'I ween,' why not explain them as intensives to Skr. *véti*, defined by Boehtlingk by 'verlangend aufsucht, herbeikommt—appetit, gern annimmt'? In Lat. *opinor* (from **opvinor*) 'I ween' we have the precise semantic counterpart of *óíō*. In general it is to be noted that English *weens* is a cognate of *wins*, and there is no reason why *óíō* may not be cognate with Skr. *véti* 'seeks to win.' In formation **FoiFierai* is rather like *áíσσει* from **FaiFikyai*, though *FoiFi-* seems to have given *ó-i-* as against the *áik* of the other word. On the *o*-colour of the reduplicating diphthong, I refer to what I have said above on *κωκύει*.¹

'The only *R.V.* example of *vevīyate*, referred by Boehtlingk to a fifth root *vī-*, is found in *vér na vevīyate matīh* 'birdlike flutters my heart' (10, 33, 2d); while *āvevīran* (in *T.S.*) means 'trepidant.' It is curious how the *R.V.* passage is echoed, as it were, in the *θυμὸς όίσατο* 'cor trepidat' (*όίσατο κατὰ θυμόν*) of the *Odyssey*. The signification of *vevīyate*, *ólerai* lets them be connected with the root *wē-* 'blows, pants,' to which *wī-* (cf. Homeric *άίει*, *άίσθει* 'gasps, breathes') would be a possible by-form, the root being *wē(y)-* or, dissyllabic, *awē(y)-*.

'The comparison of *autumat* with *ólerai* seems to me very far from probability: *auceps* I understand, and *augurium*, if made a compound of *avi-s* 'bird,' plus a cognate of *garrit* 'chatters,' whence *augur* on the pattern of *aucupium*: *auceps*, *auspicium*: *auspex*. But *autumat* is more difficult. That it gets its suffix from *aestimat* 'rates' is perfectly possible, but where does *aestimat* get its suffix? I suggest from **aes-tomos* 'money-inspector,' **tomos* being cognate with Gr. *τέμνει* 'cuts' and *ταμίας* 'steward.' But **autumus* 'bird-inspector' is not so plausible as **aestumus* 'treasurer.' I suggest therefore that *autumat* is simply a denominative to *autem* in its early affirmative sense of 'well, well now.' In O.H.G. the verb *avaron* 'to repeat' is similarly allied to *abur*, *avar* 'but, again' (so Kluge, *Woert.*). In Sanskrit *katháyati* 'relates, tells' we have the same type of denominative formation (: *kathám* how?); cf. Lat. *iterat* 'repeats': *iterum* 'again.' Has any one noted that *negumate* in Marcius Vates (before the end of the second Punic war) owes its *-umat* to its antonym *autumat*? As for *negat*, it seems to be a denominative to Lat. *neg-* (from **nege*: Skr. *nahí*=*ego*: Skr. *ahám*).'

¹ 'The *o*-colour of this reduplication in Greek is to be seen in *πορ-φύρει*, *ποιφύσσει*, *ποιπύει*, *ποπύζει*, *δοίδυε*, *γογγύζει*, *κόκκυ*, *κοικύλλει*, *κωκύει*, *μορμύρει*.'

Since the above was written some one else (Stowasser, to the best of my recollection) has printed the same explanation for *autumo*, and I lay no claim to priority. I was convinced afresh of its truth during the last term, when I chanced, after a long interval, to be reading Terence again with a class. Any Latinist might, by turning to the examples given in Lewis and Short, s.v. *autem*, ii. B. 7, convince himself, I should think, how nearly *autem* approaches a verb of saying.¹

I no longer think we can pin our faith to any etymology in which Lat. *op-* is the reduction of *obv-*, for reasons set forth in *Am. Jr. Phil.* 25, 180: and accordingly withdraw the derivation of *opīnor* from **opvīnor*. Instead, I think we are to proceed from **ob-pīnor*: **pīnor* is from the base *pēy-/pōw* 'caedere' and is cognate with *pūto* on the one hand and with *πινυτός* 'clever' on the other (cf. *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 188). The last word on *πινυτός* makes it a compound of **πι- + *νυτός* (see Brugmann in *I.F.* 19, 213). Also in my opinion it is a compound, of the tautological sort, *πι-* and *-νυ-* each being reductions of bases meaning 'to pierce, penetrate,' with the development of meaning so transparent in *κρίνει*. Note the affixed nasal flexion of *πινυτός* and *opīnor*.

A word in passing on the development of the deverbatives and prepositions: take for example Lat. *dēcidit* 'cuts off'; it contains, I suggest, two bases, viz., *dēy-/dō(w)-* (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 178, fn.) 'to cut' and the base of *caedere*. As a preposition, e.g., in *undeviginti*, *dē* may be conceived as a suffixless imperative, and *undeviginti* interpreted as 'twenty, cut (off) one.'²

(4) LAT. *secespita*.

i. Paulus-Festus, p. 500 (de Ponor), *Secespitam alii securim, alii dolabram, alii cultellum esse putant*.

In favour of the definition by 'cultellum' I would cite the only literary use of the word known to me: *inter pontifices sacrificanti simul pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendum curavit* (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 25).

The illustrations of the *secespita* in the dictionaries are now dagger-like (see e.g. Rich or Harper), and now, if we may judge by the object taken for a *secespita*-case, more like a cleaver with rounded end (see Guhl and Koner, p. 121). In

[¹ It is of great interest at this point to read § 1678 of Lane's *Latin Grammar*: *autem* is often used in questions, as *metuo credere*: *credere autem*? Pl. Ps. 304, I am afraid to trust: *trust do you say*?

[² The article on *negumate* stands as it was written in the spring of 1906. It was already in the hands of the editor before Walde's *Etymological Lexicon* was forwarded to me by my Leipzig bookdealer. I now see that the explanation of *negumate* has been anticipated by Stolz, and the derivation of *opīnor* from **opvīnor*—which I no longer hold—was suggested by Meillet in *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 9, 55 sq., prior to the time (1899) I wrote the review quoted

above. It proves to be Zimmermann and not Stowasser who has anticipated me in the publication only of the derivation of *autumo* from *autem*: *suum cuique*; *qui primus palam dederit palmam habeto*; but the coincidences have their interest, and if Walde, s.v. *pingo*, speaking of the two lines of meaning exhibited by that group, writes 'wahrscheinlicher sind beide Bedeutungsentwicklungen nach Hirt (brieflich) auf der Anwendung der Wz. zur Bezeichnung des Tätowierens begründet,' he might have quoted from me (*Am. Jr. Phil.* 21, 198) 'pingit . . with a formal meaning of "paints," developed from a vernacular "pricks, tattoos."']

Smith's *Dictionary* a hatchet-like object on a coin of the Sulpician gens is called a *secespita*, but, in its later abridgement by Cornish, *secespita* is the name given to a knife (cultrum), while the hatchet-like object is called a securis. In his *Religion der Roemer* Aust renders *secespita* now by 'opfermesser' (p. 184), and now by 'beil' (p. 210).

ii. Festus and Paulus, pp. 522-523: *Secespita cultrum ferreum, oblongum, manubrio eburneo, solido, vincto ad capulum argento auroque fixum, clavis aeneis, aere Cyprio*. This passage, if I mistake not the meaning of oblongum, seems to make for an implement of the shape pictured by Guhl and Koner.

iii. Paulus-Festus, *l.c.*: *secivum libum est, quod secespita secatur*. The use of *secespita* in this passage has not been heretofore taken account of in the study of the meaning, I believe. The sacrificial cakes called liba were, it is presumed, flat and round. Did they get their shape from being trimmed with a *secespita*, or were slices (seciva) of the entire libum cut with the *secespita*? The fragmentary lemma does not tell us. The passage is important, however, as it adds a limitation to the usual statement that the *secespita* was employed in cutting open a larger victim.

iv. Pott (*Etym. Forsch.* 3, 326) found the suffix of *secespita* as great a riddle as the suffix of *hospita*, *sospes*, *caespes*. But *hospita* is now cleared up, doubtless to everybody's satisfaction, and I have myself suggested (*Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 184) that *-spet-* in *sospes*, *caespes* is rather the last member of a compound than a true suffix, and meant something like 'pluckt, pulled off: a twig.' Lindsay (*Lat. Lang.*) hazards no individual opinion as to *secespita*.

v. I venture the following suggestion: *secespita* is a feminine derivative of an adj. **sece-caespes* 'cutting-turf,—shoots' (cf. Paulus-Festus, p. 31, *caespes* . . frutex recisus et truncus). I am, however, unable to find any mention that the *secespita* was ever used for the cutting of turf or twigs; but a heavy knife of the shape pictured by Guhl and Koner would be ideally adapted to cutting shrubs and shoots, and as a turf-cutter much more suitable than the dagger type. The primitive (as well as subsequent rustic) use of turf for altars would account for the priests having to employ a *secespita* in the first instance, and a substitute knife, whether of the same or a different general shape, and otherwise employed, might well take over the old name.

vi. More minutely as to form: **sece-cespita* would be a Latin instance of the type of compound with impv. 1st member (cf. Delbrueck, *Grundriss*, 5, § 70), of which I have found other Latin examples in *cle-mens* and *vehe-mens* (*Am. Jr. Phil.* 24, 71). The reduction to *secespita* was either by haplology (sé[ce]cespita), or resulted from a chain of development as follows: **sécecespita* > **séccespita* > **se(c)céspita* > *secéspita*.

vii. In *secespita* we must assume dialectic *æ* for *ae*, as in the Spoletium

inscription, also of sacral character, where we find *cedere* for *caedere* (Buecheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 35, 627).

viii. *cespitat* 'cadit, offendit': This late Latin word (cf. Du Cange, *s.v.*) seems to have meant 'stumbles, falls on the turf'; quasi 'turfs.' For the sense cf. Eng. *grounds* (trans. and intrans.) = 'runs on the ground.'

(5) LAT. *hostire*, *hostia*.

Schrader in his *Reallexikon*, p. 270, challenges Leist's induction that the correlation of Lat. *hostis* 'stranger' and Germ. *gast* 'guest' proves a primitive institution of guest-friendship; and he asserts that in the Latin word *hostis* friendly feeling for the stranger was never connoted. He argues that *hospes* (out of **hosti-pets* 'stranger-protector') was secondarily formed to connote the friendly feeling for an enemy; so ξένος 'guest-or-host' is subsequent to ξένος 'enemy,' in spite of the fact that, in its literary emergence, ξένος 'enemy' is long subsequent to ξένος 'guest-or-host.'

The further deduction is made that the primitive Indo-Europeans were only hostile-minded to strangers.

As to the last point, if the etymological correlation of ξένος and *hostis* were as certain¹ as is their identity of meaning and ritual significance, I should feel a disposition to reject Schrader's conclusion on the sole basis of those words. The testimony of the Romans themselves seems to me to controvert the view that *hostis* 'enemy' was prior to *hostis* 'guest' (in *hospes* 'guest-lord,' has the compound, as not infrequently, an earlier sense than the simplex?); cf. Varro, *L.L.* 5, 3: multa verba aliud nunc ostendunt aliud ante significabant, ut *hostis*; nam tum eo verbo dicebant peregrinum qui suis legibus uteretur, nunc dicunt eum quem tum dicebant perduellem (cf. also Cicero, *Off.* 1, 12, 37, Paulus-Festus, p. 73, 370). Further, as *hospes* 'ξένο-δόκος,' the friendly significance of which is self-evident, subsequently acquired the senses of (2) 'guest' and (3) 'stranger,' why not reckon with the possibility that *hostis* meant (1) *'guest-or-host,'² (2) 'stranger,' (3) 'enemy,'—(2) and (3) being, by the Roman testimony cited, actual definitions in their historic order of usage.

The verb *hostit*, *redhostit* 'requisites,' which Festus (*ll. c.*) defines by 'aequat,' seems to me to furnish the clearest sort of attestation for (1) 'guest-or-host.' The guest-gift was an exchange of objects of equal worth (cf. R. M. Meyer, cited in Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 272), and *hostire* means in our modern phrase 'to give one as

¹ [I shall shortly publish in *Modern Language Notes* an explanation of the phonetic relations of *hostis* and ξένος. Not until this occurred to me did I think that the equation of ξ- with h-s in these words was any proof of their identity, but if we start with a preposition-adverb *eghos* 'extra' (Brugmann writes *eghs*, *Gr. Gram.* § 79, 5, but the *gh* seems due to the now discarded belief that O.B. *isf* belonged here), then *hostis* is from *(e)ghos-stis 'extra-stans'

(on the suffix -stis see *Class. Rev.* xx. 255, 6) and ξένος from *(e)gh(o)s-enwos 'extra-inhabitans' (-enwos from *en* 'in' + *wos*: the root *wes* 'to dwell'). This explanation requires some readjustment of the following numerical arrangement of the senses of *hostis*.]

² Servius in his note on *Aen.* 4, 424, states, and I doubt not correctly, that *hostis* was by some interpreted as 'guest' (= 'hospes').

good as he sends.' Note the following interesting context in Plautus (*Asin.* 371 sq.):

pugno malam si tibi percussero, . . . caueto ne succenseas. . . .: patitor tu item, quom ego te referiam, . . . quin promitto, inquam, hostire contra ut merueris.

Here *hostire* means 'to give you blow for blow,' if we interpret, as we ought, in the light of vs. 172:

par pari datum hostimentumst, opera pro pecunia.

A further instance in the *Hectoris Lutris* of Ennius (Ribbeck, *Scaen. Rom. Poes.*³ I, 39, 149):

quae (sc. convicia) mea comminus machaera atque hasta hostibit manu.

It was from contexts like these that the definition of *hostire* by 'ferire' was derived: cf. Festus (p. 73) *hostia dicta est ab eo, quod est hostire ferire*.

It remains to draw the corollary that *hostia* was originally the animal sacrificed at the reception of a stranger-guest (Latinè, *cena hospitalis, adventicia*): cf. for the custom *Il.* 6, 174, ἐννήμαρ ξείνισσε καὶ ἐννέα βοῦς ἰέρευσεν.

In the Vedic ritual, also, the killing of a cow (often only a ceremonial killing) was of the utmost importance in the ceremony of the reception of a guest (cf. the references in the index to Oldenberg's translation of the *Gṛhya-Sūtras*, Sacred Books of the East, 30, 306). The usage of ξείνισσε in this passage and its easy correlation (ritual and semantic) with *hostire* as explained above, as well as the sense given to *hostia*, seem to me to prove that the institution of guest-friendship may well antedate the separate establishment of the Greek and Roman civilizations.

[Because of *hostus*, which he defines by 'Niessnutzen, . . . Ertrag,' Walde defines *hostire* as 'vergeltē . . . also eintragen,' and refers it to the root *ghas* 'to eat.'

That the meaning is 'yield' is clear, for Varro explains (*R.R.* I, 24, 3), *hostum* vocant quod ex uno facto olei reficitur: factum dicunt quod uno tempore conficiunt, which points to 'pressum, quod premitur' rather than to 'Niessnutzen,' if I divine what that means. Why Walde, of all scholars, should want to define *hostus* by what amounts to 'quod editur' I cannot see, for he has contributed no little material from which to extract a base *ghē(y)-s-* 'ferire,' though he stops short of firmly drawing the ultimate inference from his material (see *K.Z.* 34, 488 sq.). No, *hostus* is 'quod feritur,' unless with them of old time it is 'quod hauritur,' and if 'quod feritur' seems vague it is very easy to note Eng. *strike* 'the yield of a single drawing off from a sugar kettle' (see *Cent. Dict.*, s.v. *strike*, n. 9); and if this oversea example is not persuasive enough, Swiss *ankenschlag, schmalzschlag* 'so viel butter als man auf einmal macht' (Grimm's *Woert.*, s.v. *schlag*, v, 9 b) ought to be. That beside *ghē(y)-s-* a doublet *ghō(w)-s-* is to be recognized seems to me clear (cf. Thurneysen's definition of *hauritur* in *K.Z.* 28, 158), and *hostus* may

well be rustic for *haustus*. Here belongs *dehōrit* 'skims off,' as well as *hostorium* 'strickle, strike.'¹

If *hostorium* 'strickle' were earlier of record I should be more inclined to accept the glossic definition of *hostire* by 'aequare,' but at any rate it seems that *hostit* 'ferit, aequat,' whether as suggested above from *hostis* 'guest-friend,' or from some lost word meaning 'strickle,' or the like, is a denominative of secondary development in Latin. Like *hostit* 'aequat' we may explain *dehorit* 'skims off' as implying the use of a strickle.

The assumption of a base *ġhē(y)-s-* 'ferire' enables us also to account for the Latin compound verb *suggillat* 'beats' (from **ġhis-lā* in composition), and for glossic *harit* 'ferit,' as also for *harena* 'sand' = 'quod frangitur,' *hīlum* 'bit, particle.']

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¹ I find myself completely nonplussed by Walde's entry under *hostorium*, 'streichholz (spät): volks-etymologische Umgestaltung von *ustorium* (: *uro*), wie *ustulare* "als Opfer darbringen und verbrennen" später nach *hostia* zu *hostilare* gemacht wurde (Keller,

Volks-etym. 44).' So far as Priscian and the glosses tell us, the *hostorium* was a 'strickle' (= 'streichholz'), but Walde's explanation suits a 'friction match' (= 'zündhölzchen, streichholz').

Without discussing the probability of Professor Fay's ingenious combinations for *culpa* (*supra* p. 14) it may be pointed out that it would be a strange freak of chance if *illam dicam* in Cicero *l.c.* did not point to *landicam*. [§]

Upon the etymology of *uitrum* 'glass' (p. 22) it may be observed that the short *i* is not accounted for. The quantity of the *i* in *uitrum* 'woad' is unknown.

ED. C. Q.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS.

(Continued from THE CLASSICAL REVIEW, Vol. XIII. p. 428.)

CRATINUS.

- 138 *τίνες αὖ πόντον κατέχουσ' αὔραι ; νέφος οὐράνιον τόδ' ὀρώμαι.
ὥς ἂν μᾶλλον τοῖς πηδαλίοις ἢ ναῦς ἡμῶν πειθαρχῇ.*

Crates 17 *οὐδ' ἐξ ἀγορᾶς οὐδὲ τάκωνας ποιησόμεθ' οὐδ' ἀλλᾶντας.*

Are not the editors rather too easy-going, when they admit on the authority of Hephaestion these spondaic endings? In the second passage nothing is easier than to invert the order of ἀλλᾶντας and τάκωνας, reading οὐτ' ἀλλᾶντας ποιησόμεθ' οὔτε τάκωνας, for οὔτε . . . οὔτε seem also required. Cratinus is not quite so easily corrected, but one may perhaps suppose that he really wrote something like ἡ ναῦς ἡμῶν ὥς πειθαρχῇ μᾶλλον τοῖς πηδαλίοισι. If it were not for the poetical character of line 1 (πόντον, αὔραι, ὀρώμαι), we should doubt whether we ought not to write *ἴνα* for ὥς, but it may be right, though obviously the first and second lines have no immediate connexion. The spondaic ending is made even less probable than it would otherwise be by the fact of the fifth and sixth feet also being spondees.

240 Read ἐτικτέτην or ἐτίκτετον for τίκτετον.

CRATES.

- 15 *ἀλλ' ἀντίθες τοι· ἐγὼ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*

The crasis of τοι and ἐγὼ in spite of the pause between them seems unlikely, nor is τοι much in place with the imperative. Perhaps we should read τόδ'.

PHERECRATES.

- 10 *εἶτα πρὸς τούτοιςιν ἦλουν ὄρθρῃαι τὰ σιτία,
ὥστε τὴν κώμην ὑπηγεῖν θυγαυουσῶν τὰς μύλας.*

θυγάνειν does not take an accusative, and Kock—whose conjectures are often most extravagant—would read περιαιουσῶν. By the slight change to τῆς κώμης (or possibly τῆς μύλης) we can get all that we want.

Fragments 67 and 68 appear continuous and should be put together.

EUPOLIS.

90 οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην κ.τ.λ.

The rather curious phrase τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην has been doubted and νίκην τὴν ἐμὴν suggested. But Plut. *Mor.* 496 F is closely parallel and confirms the original reading: οὐκ ἐπεῖδε τὴν Σαλαμίνα Νεοκλῆς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους οὐδὲ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα Μιλτιάδης τὸν Κίμωνος.

357. 8 μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῇ χαίρη νέων.

For νέων, which is certainly wrong, Kock suggests ξυνών. I would propose ποιῶν or ποῶν, possibly but not necessarily reading also μουσικῇ. Cf. *Phaedo* 61 A μουσικὴν ποιεῖν twice over.

In line 6 of this fragment I incline to think τῷ σῷ λόγῳ right, but this must be considered in another place.

ARISTOPHANES.

294. 3 τῆς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν Εἰρήνης φίλης
πιστὴ τροφός, ταμία, σύνεργος, ἐπίτροπος,
θυγάτηρ, ἀδελφή, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐχρήτό μοι.

ἐχρήτο is certainly wrong, but there is little use in proposing εὔχοντο (rather ἡὔχοντο) as Kock does, as though the two words were likely to be confused, to say nothing of the fact that ἡὔχοντο does not even give good sense (*i.e.* εὐχόμενοί μοι πάντα ταῦτά με ἔλεγον Kock). The meaning of course must be that they called her by these names, and this strongly suggests εἶρητο, though it does not seem certain.

488 ἐν δέ σοι φράσω,
ὅσῳ τὰ κάτω κρείττω 'στὶν ὧν ὁ Ζεὺς ἔχει.

The speaker goes on to show by one instance how true this is. Surely the poet wrote ἐνί, not ἔν.

678 πολλὰ τοιαυτὶ καὶ τοιαυτὶ καὶ δεῦρο σχηματίσαντας.

Herwerden (*Collectanea* etc., 1903), citing Blaydes' violent correction π. τ. σχήματα δευρὶ κακέισε σχηματίσαντα, proposes himself to read καῖθ' (καὶ ἔθ') ἔτερα. I should rather think that the line is quite right and that it was followed by something which gave the antithesis to δεῦρο, *e.g.* κακέισε μάλ' αὖ,

PLATO.

91 ἐνῇ for ἐνι seems to me likely.

187 καίτοι πέπραγε τῶν τρόπων μὲν ἄξια,
αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στιγμάτων ἀνάξια·
οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἴνεκ' ὄστραχ' ἠύρεθθ.

In these well known lines on Hyperbolus' ostracism *τρόπων*, as Kock argues, can hardly be right. There is no possible antithesis of *τρόπων* and *αὐτοῦ*. What is right for a man is right for his character. Kock would read *προτέρων*, but that is rather remote from the word *τρόπων*. I should suggest the much more obvious *τόπων*, understanding that ostracism was a right enough sentence to pass in the agora, but not on Hyperbolus.

In fragment 7 of Diocles

καὶ διὰ τετρημένων ἀθέλγεται τύπων

is not *τύπων* another blunder for the same word, *τόπων* ?

AMEIPSIAS.

9 Σώκρατες, ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστ' ὀλίγων, πολλῶν δὲ ματαιόταθ', ἦκεις κ.τ.λ.

Anything about Socrates is so interesting that perhaps I may be allowed to urge the adoption of Dobree's *ὀλίγῳ* and *πολλῷ*, which to my mind are clearly right. If the speaker says that Socrates is 'best of (a) few men,' he must mean either that S. is the best of his own small following, the Socratic school, or that he is 'best of few' absolutely, *i.e.* worse than most men. The latter sense is most unlikely, the former somewhat pointless. Dobree's parallel from Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6. 11 ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ τοι δίκαιόν σε νομίζω, σοφὸν δὲ οὐδ' ὅπως τιούν is very close, and the datives make excellent sense: 'you may be morally a trifle better than most men, but you are certainly much more foolish and useless.'

CALLIAS.

21 There is no need to assume with Kock and Herwerden that *ε* in *ἔτνος* is lengthened contrary to comic practice. There must in any case have been something preceding it, and this may quite well have ended with a short syllable.

THEOPOMPUS.

59 ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Εἰλείθυια συγγνώμην ἔχει
ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν οὔσα καταπλήξ τὴν τέχνην.

Kock with his usual boldness would read *ὑ. τ. γ. τῶτα καταπλήξ γενομένη*, nor does Herwerden demur. I agree with him that *quid sit καταπλήξ τὴν τέχνην nemo facile dixerit*, but that does not justify so extravagant a change of text. Here again, as in Pherecrates 10 above, the slightest of changes will give us quite as fair a sense as we can demand in a mere fragment. Read *τῇ τέχνῃ*, governed by *συγγνωμην ἔχει*, which may either have its common meaning or signify *has a fellow-feeling with*.

POLYZELUS.

3 For ταῦτ' ἔστι τρία Θηραμένους (Kock with Meineke *ταυτὶ τὰ τρία*) ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ τρία may be suggested.

DEMETRIUS.

1. 4 Perhaps μέγας <τε> καὶ | λαμπρός.

ANTIPHANES.

20 κρέας δὲ τίνος ἤδιστ' ἂν ἐσθίοις ; B. τίνος ;
εἰς εὐτέλειαν. τῶν προβάτων μὲν κ.τ.λ.

Since we should expect κρέα rather than κρέας and εἰς εὐτέλειαν is strange as an answer to τίνος, I suggest

κρέα δ' ἤδιστ' ἂν ἐσθίοις τίνος
εἰς εὐτέλειαν ; B. τῶν προβάτων μὲν κ.τ.λ.

40. 4 Insert perhaps something like καὶ τρυφή.

44 Something may be missing between lines 4 and 5, and φορεῖ altered from φορεῖν.

52. 15 τοῦμπαλιν need not be called in question. Just as in 12 and 13 the two opposites of wine and water were mentioned, so here sweet-smelling things and the reverse.

147. 7 οὕτως ἐσθ' ἄγιον παντελῶς τὸ θηρίον.

Perhaps ὦδ' ἐστίν. It would be an unusual use of ὦδε, but cf. Soph. *El.* 941 964 ; Eur. *Ion.* 1546.

161. 9 κομίσας δ' ἐξέβαλεν <εὐθύς> οἴκαδε ?

190. 4 Φοινικίδης δὲ Ταυρέας θ' ὁ φίλτατος,
ἄνδρες πάλαι ὀψοφάγοι τοιοῦτοί τινες,
οἶοι καταβροχθίζειν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ τεμάχη,
ὁρῶντες ἐξέθνησκον ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι.

The editors and others have made attempts on the second line, so as to reduce it to something like decent versification. But their labour is thrown away. It never was verse at all. It is nothing but a commentator's prose note, first telling us who and what Phoenicides and Taureas were (of which he knew probably no more than Antiphanes indicates), and then writing τοιοῦτοί τινες to explain οἶοι. Kock may read πολὺν πάντων ὀψοφαγίστατοι, but πάλαι tells its own tale.

Two or three similar adscripits that have found their way into the text may be noticed. Nicostratus 10. 4 was pointed out by Dindorf and is bracketed by Kock. Cratinus Junior 1. 5 was recognised as an adscrip by Dobree, and Eubulus 107. 19 is plainly Athenaeus, as Kock says. We read in Eubulus 119. 5 foll.

ὃν φασὶ ποτε κληθέντ' ἐπὶ δείπνον πρὸς φίλου τινός,
εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ φίλου, ὀπηνίκε' ἂν
εἵκοσι ποδῶν μετροῦντι τὸ στοιχεῖον ᾗ,
ἤκειν, κ.τ.λ.

Scholars, including Porson, have gravely tried to bring this into order, but *πρὸς . . . τοῦ φίλου* is a mere insertion, the removal of which sets everything right at once. *ἤκειν* depends a little loosely on *κληθέντα*, and that is the reason why *εἰπόντος . . . φίλου* was put in, just as *πρὸς φίλου τινός* is another explanatory gloss on *κληθέντα*. But *πρὸς* betrays its origin, for no comic poet of this date would have thought of using *πρὸς* for *ὑπό*, a construction confined to serious poetry. In the lines ascribed to Philemon (109)

ὅταν ξενισθῇς ἐν πόλει πρὸς τὸν φίλον κ.τ.λ.

it is likely enough that *τοῦ φίλου* or something similar should be read, but this is only a further proof that they are not really his. The misuse of *πρὸς* belongs to later Greek. The form of the same story in Menander 364

ὅς, κληθεῖς ποτε
εἰς ἐστίασιν δωδεκάποδος, ὄρθριος
πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἔτρεχε κ.τ.λ.

tends to support the omission of *πρὸς . . . τοῦ φίλου* here. *κληθεῖς δωδεκάποδος* is exactly parallel to *κληθέντα . . . ὀπηνίκε' ἄν κ.τ.λ.*

Probably the same account may be given of the first line in Philemon 102 (whether the lines are his or not).

1 πρὸς ἐστι δὲ τῷ πένητι ἀπιστία

4 τῶν γὰρ πενήτων πίστιν οὐκ ἔχει λόγος.

As though any one would have written line 4 to come close upon line 1! 1 is a prose version of 4, and we need not trouble about the elision of *ι* in the dative or anything else. There must however have been a line or lines in which the *πένης* was mentioned, since otherwise *ὑπάρχη* in 2 would have no subject.

But possibly 102 is a combination of two fragments, and then the case of *πρὸς ἐστι ἀπιστία* is different.

196. 13 πῶς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἄν, ὦ πάτερ, . . .
ρήτωρ ἄφωνος, ἣν μὴ ἀλφὶ τρις παρανόμων ;

Assuming with Kock that there is a hiatus of two feet in the first line, I would suggest

πῶς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἄν, ὦ πάτερ, ρήτωρ<ποτὲ>
ἄφωνος, ἣν ἀλφὶ γε μὴ τρις παρανόμων ;

and in the hiatus or the next two lines

καὶ μὴν ἀκριβῶς φόμην ἐγνωκέναι
τὸ ρηθέν . . . ἀλλὰ δὴ λέγε

we may very plausibly insert *οἶόν ἐστιν*.

202. 14 ἀπαίρουσαι δὲ μικρόν, οὐ πολὺ,
τοῦ μήτ' ἐκείσε μήτε δεῦρο παντελῶς,
οὕτως ἀνερρίπιζον ὥστε κ.τ.λ.

36 FURTHER NOTES ON THE GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS

If there were an infinitive with τοῦ, it would no doubt be right enough so to express the mind of the doves not to go decidedly one way or the other. But can an infinitive be thus left for the reader or hearer to supply, and the article τοῦ remain alone? I hardly think so, and therefore venture to suggest τό. Cf. (L. and S. s.v. δεῦρο) Ar. Av. 426 πάντα καὶ τὸ τῇδε καὶ τὸ κείσε καὶ τὸ δεῦρο: Eur. Phoen. 266 ὄμμα πανταχῇ διοιστέον ἀκείσε καὶ τὸ δεῦρο: ib. 315 ἐκείσε καὶ τὸ δεῦρο περιχορεύουσα.

264 μὴ ὄμμασιν τὸ σῶμα λαμπρύνειν θέλε,
ἔργοις δὲ καθαροῖς καὶ τρόποις τὴν καρδίαν.

A very suspicious fragment. χρώμασιν, ῥύμμασιν, βάμμασιν have been suggested for ὄμμασιν. I may add νίμμασιν. N would fall out easily after H. νίμματα occurs in another comic fragment (Dromon 2).

278 ἀνδρὸς δ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἀτυχίαν ὀρθοῦ τρόπου.

ὀρθῷ τρόπῳ Grotius. The accusative would be a slighter change and, I think, equally good Greek, though less common.

H. RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

THE *DIGAMMA*, *KOPPA*, AND *SAMPI* AS NUMERALS IN GREEK.

IT is universally held and in all classical Greek Grammars taught that in their numeral system, the ancient Greeks denoted the figure for 6 by the *digamma* or *van*, that for 90 by the *koppa*, and that for 900 by the *sampi* or *sanpi*. On a closer examination, however, this doctrine proves erroneous and requires correction.

To begin with, we know that the Greeks of the classical period used the figures Π for 6, $\text{𐀀}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$ for 90, and ΓH (or 𐀀)HHHH for 900. As a matter of fact, the symbols 𐀀 and 𐀁 were never counted among the Greek numerals, evidently because they had become extinct long before Euclidian times (403 B.C.), and so had found no place, even as letters, in the Euclidian or new Attic alphabet. As to the numeral system which used 𐀀 (also 𐀁 , later ς) for 6, and 𐀁 (later 𐀂 or 𐀃) for 90, then 𐀄 (also 𐀅 , later 𐀆) for 900, it sprang up in Alexandrian times—in the first half of the third century B.C.—probably in Alexandria itself (Meisterhans³ 11, note 41; see also T. M. Thompson, *Palaeography* p. 104)—whence it seems to have worked its way into the other Greek centres, Athens adopting it about the middle of the first century B.C. (Meisterhans³ 11, 6).

This Alexandrian system of numerals was decimal and had, as is well known, 27 symbols or figures accented and arranged in three parallel columns, the first column denoting the units, the second the tenths, and the third the hundreds, viz. :

A	= 1	I	= 10	P	= 100
B	= 2	K	= 20	Σ	= 200
Γ	= 3	Λ	= 30	T	= 300
Δ	= 4	M	= 40	Τ	= 400
E	= 5	N	= 50	Φ	= 500
𐀀 or 𐀁	= 6	Ξ	= 60	X	= 600
Z	= 7	O	= 70	Ψ	= 700
H	= 8	Π	= 80	Ω	= 800
Θ (or O)	= 9	𐀁	= 90	𐀄 (or 𐀅)	= 900

,A = 1000, ,B = 2000, ,Γ = 3000, and so on.

Let us now see whether the traditional doctrine still obtaining is correct which says that Ϛ (for 6), ϙ (for 90), and Ϟ (σαμπι, for 900) are identical with the archaic letters Ϝ, ϙ, and ϙ or Σ. We know that these *letters*, the supposed prototypes of the Alexandrian figures Ϛ (Ϛ), ϙ (ϙ), Ϟ (Ϟ), became extinct several centuries before the appearance of the above Alexandrian or decimal system which contained the above 27 symbols. In particular we know that the old koppa (ϙ) was a dead letter in classical antiquity (A. Gercke, *Abriß* 85, 92, Brugmann *Greek Grammar*³ 38), whereas the σάν was merely an ancient Doric name for σίγμα, Hdt. 1. 139: τὸντὸ γράμμα τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα. So too Athen. 11. 37 (p. 467 A): τὸ δὲ σὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ σὶ γ μ' α εἰρήκασιν—καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς τὸ Ϛ ἐγκεχαραγμένον ἔχοντας σαμφοράς καλοῦσιν. So further 10. 81 (p. 454); then Schol. in Ar. *Nub.* 23 and 122. Suid. s.v. σαμφοράς: εἶδος ἵππου ἐγκεχαραγμένου τὸ Ϛ σημείον· οἱ δὲ Δωριεῖς τὸ Ϛ σὰν λέγουσιν.

In these circumstances it may be worth our while to investigate the subject for the benefit of our younger Greek scholars, who meet the above symbols as numerals in their Greek grammar.

Three serious difficulties are raised by the time-honoured belief that the archaic or pre-Eucleidian letters ϙ (κόππα), Ϝ (δίγαμμα) and ϙ (σάν) reappeared in Alexandrian times as numerals or figures: (1) by the intrinsic improbability that the Alexandrian Greeks, after inventing a host of grammatical, musical, and other signs, were at a loss concerning the three numeral symbols in question; (2) by the difficulty of realizing how the signs ϙ Ϝ ϙ, which, in old Attic times, never had acted as numeral ciphers but only as phonetic symbols or letters, should, many centuries after, be revived in Alexandria as figures, that is in a function totally different from that which they originally had; and (3) by the difficulty of accounting for the alphabetic *place* of the said symbols in the Alexandrian numeral system. It looks certainly odd how the primordial *letter* koppa (ϙ) should, after it became extinct before the sixth century B.C., reappear, three centuries after, in Alexandria and that as a *figure*, taking the eighteenth place in the Alexandrian and Byzantine numeral alphabet of the 27 symbols. True, the original shape of the figure, ϙ, its place after Π, and its name 'koppa,' *prima facie* seem to leave no reasonable doubt as to its identity with the Latin Q,¹ and to its descent or revival from the primordial ϙ (κόππα, the Phœnician Qoph); but both the shape and the arithmetic value of the Alexandrian symbol ϙ (later differentiated to q and q) for 90 prove it to be simply an I (iota) carrying on the top the letter Θ or Ο (theta), which was then often written without the central dot or horizontal stroke (Larfeld *Gr. Epigr.* pp. 533 f.). Now we should recollect here that in their system of multiplication the ancient (Alexandrian) Greeks used to write the multiplicator above or upon the multiplicand, thus: $\overset{\text{B}}{\text{M}}$ for δις (β') μύρια (μ'), that is $2 \times 10,000 = 20,000$; $\overset{\text{P}}{\text{M}}$ for ἑκατοντάκις (ρ') μύρια that is $100 \times 10,000 = 1,000,000$ (whence

¹ Compare Quint. 1. 4. 9: koppa apud Graecos nunc tantum in numero manet.

Koraes coined the modern Greek term τὸ ἑκατομμύριον for a 'million'. On this system, then, Ϡ or ϡ means *ἐνάκις δέκα* (9 × 10), that is *ἐνεήκοντα* (90).

Regarding the old digamma, considered in its Alexandrian function as a figure, the error is no less striking. For we know that the digamma *F* had from the outset the shape of two gammas ΓΓ, one placed upon the other (*F*) and that, like the ϡ, it never had a place in the Eucleidian or (new) Attic alphabet, neither as a letter nor as a numeral. On the other hand, its supposed Alexandrian progeny or substitute had the shape of ⊥ or ⊏, thus forming two reverted gammas either joined one upon the other: ⊥ or intertwined ⊏. Now as one gamma (Γ) has the arithmetic value of 'three' (3), two gammas naturally equal two threes or a *six* (Γ=3, ⊥ or ⊏=6); from which we realize that this numerical symbol (⊥ or ⊏) has nothing in common with the ancient digamma (*F*). Indeed, even the name points to a different origin. For while the ancient digamma (*F*) was so called from its shape as a double gamma (*F*), the numeral symbol ⊥ or ⊏ went by the name *ἐπίσημον* (apparently sometimes also *γαμ(μ)έξ*), its name *στῆγμα* (formed after *σῆγμα*) having arisen in late Byzantine times—after the seventh century A.D.—from its shape Ϛ which then resembled the ligature Ϛ (for στ), then generally current in the MSS.¹

Still more curious is the history of the *sampi* (Ϡ=900). Its original or Alexandrian shape was Ϡ, a form which gave rise to its tracing back to the Phœnician letter *shin* (𐤑). This outward resemblance, however, is accidental, as accidental as was the resemblance of ϡ to the primordial koppa. And this accidental character appears both from its *name* as well as from its *function*, seeing that the Greek *sampi* or *sanpi* is not called *σίν* from 'shin,' and that the Phœnician numeral system cannot be brought into line with that of the Greeks (P. Schröder, *Die Phön. Sprache*, table C). Indeed the Greek name *σαμπῖ* or *σαμπεί* which is supposed to come from *σάν*+*πί*(*πεῖ*) is a play of imagination, seeing that *σάν*+*πί* would have produced *σπάν* or *σπί*, just as *σ*+*τ* produced *στῆγμα* (after *σῆγμα*). As a matter of fact, the numeral symbol Ϡ is a genuine Greek invention: it is a triple *Tau* (ΤΤΤ) or a *pi* (Π) with a middle (central) leg, as Galen himself says (xvii. 1. 525 Kühn): *ὁ τοῦ Π χαρακτήρ ἔχων ὀρθίαν μέσσην γραμμὴν, ὡς ἔνιοι γράφουσι τὸν τῶν ἐνακοσίων χαρακτήρα*. Now a capital 'Π with a middle perpendicular stroke' naturally forms a triple *Tau* (Ϡ), which threefold Τ in the cursive hand had its side strokes curved. Accordingly the symbol Ϡ assumed the rounded shape Ϡ and this again gradually—since Byzantine times—became Ϡ, that is a backward slanting Π, then called *παρὰ-κύϊσμα* (not *σαμπῖ*!), that is a *παρὰκλῖνον γέννημα*, a slanting letter. Schol. in *Dion Thyr.* p. 496, 5 (ed. Hilgard): *γράμματα δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ*

¹ The above curious facts—the formation of ϡ from Ι and Ο, and of ⊥ or ⊏ from ΓΓ—makes me sceptical about the view generally held that, in their palmiest days, the Athenians, being incapable of inventing a special phonetic symbol for the letter eta (Η or Η), or to evolve Η out of ΕΙ, decided, in

their despair, to have recourse to the revival of the then obsolete or rather long extinct Η, and that they transformed it from a previous rough breathing (Η=η) into a future letter (Η=η). Compare on this subject my *Hist. Greek Grammar*, p. 531.

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τινα ἕτερα, τὸ δίγαμμα καὶ τὸ κόππα καὶ τὸ καλούμενον παρακύϊσμα. So too Cramer's *An. Gr.* iv. p. 325, 33. It seems, then, that, as the symbol Ϡ looked like a (slanting) Π, it was named, in late Byzantine times (after the thirteenth century) *σαμπῖ*, apparently from ὦσ ἀν πῖ, that is a 'Π-like' letter (Thompson *l.c.*). Be this as it may, the term *sampi*, whether it came from *σὰν*+*πῖ* or from ὦσ ἀν πῖ, is a worthless coinage of the Middle Ages and should disappear from our Greek grammars, making room for the proper term *παρακύϊσμα*.

Canea, Crete.

• A. N. JANNARIS.

THE SAYINGS OF SIMONIDES.

IN Grenfell and Hunt's *Hibeh Papyri*, Vol. I, recently published, there is an interesting but obscure fragment, composed of sayings apparently ascribed to the famous poet. I submit two or three suggestions on them.

S. said he was economical (φειδωλός), because μάλλον ἄχθοιτο τοῖς ἀνηλωμένοις ἢ τοῖς περιούσιιν. Some verb like ἤδοιτο has been omitted in the last part of the sentence.

Lines 12-29 run χαλεπὸν [δ' εἶναι] τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐ[τοῦ.] . . . ἰκοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. τὸ δὲ ἀναλωθὲν ὀλίγου μὲν εἴληπται, προσαναλίσκεται δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον διὸ δεῖ ἔλκειν τὰς ψήφους. καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ δανειζεσθαι ὅταν τῇ ἀναγκαίᾳ καὶ φυσικῇ τροφῇ χρῆσται ὥσπερ τὰ ζῷα ἀπλῇ. It is difficult to think of any substantive or substantivalised adjective that can be represented by . . . ἰκοῖς. (The letters ἰκο are not quite certain.) Perhaps the word was an adverb in ὡς or ἰκως. The last sentence is translated by G. and H. 'A man borrowed his own money when he used only necessary and natural food as the animals do.' This is however impossible, for ὅταν χρῆσται can only mean *after using*, not *at the time of using*.¹ I incline to think this saying should be put after τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, so that the construction becomes καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ δανειζεσθαι (χαλεπὸν εἶναι): or is it possible to carry on the force of χαλεπὸν εἶναι without a transposition? The intervening words are translated by G. and H. 'Expenditure is reckoned of slight account, and twice as much is spent again; so one should draw back the counters (?).' It would be hard to parallel such a sense of ὀλίγου εἴληπται, and π. τὸ διπλάσιον certainly points to ὀλίγον, not ὀλίγου. But I do not understand τὸ ἀναλωθὲν any more than I do διὸ . . . ψήφους, and I rather conjecture it to be a mistake—due to προσαναλίσκεται—for another word, such as τὸ δανεισθέν, τὸ ληφθέν, referring to τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. It is also surprising that this saying should be in *oratio recta*, especially if it is in its right place. The infinitives εἰλῆφθαι, προσαναλίσκεσθαι, δεῖν would be an easy correction.

H. RICHARDS.

¹ Is it not equally impossible to take *οὐ δεῖ αὐτοὺς εἶναι ψάλτας οὐτε ψόδους θεωρεῖν* (Hippias(?) fragment, p. 47) as meaning 'they ought not to be regarded as harpers'? Can *θεωρεῖν* have such a sense?

VERB FORMS IN PLAUTVS.

THIS account of the verb forms in Plautus proceeds in the same direction as my earlier papers on noun, adjectival, and adverbial forms (*Classical Review*, July, December, 1902, July, 1903). I feel strongly that something is needed on Plautine forms that shall be more complete and accurate than anything that yet exists. The statements that one meets with, that this or that form is "common," or "regular," in Plautus, are frequently misleading, or even incorrect, and are usually unsatisfying. I do not think it is of much import whether a word occurs fifty times or fifty-five, but it often is important to know whether it occurs fifty times, or five, or once, or not at all.

As my examination has advanced, I have gained an increasing respect for manuscript tradition, a growing belief that the irregularities are, after all, in a certain sense regular. The whole system of inflexion—and, I suspect, of syntax also and of versification—was less fixed and stable in Plautus' time than it became later, and yet we cannot deny the reign of law therein to a large extent. I look, therefore, upon the long lists of variations to be noted in §§ 45, 46, 58 vi. as indicative, not of the carelessness of the copyists, but rather of the real state of the language as Plautus knew it and used it.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

§ 1.—*Second Person Singular, Passive.*

-re at vs. or colon end		48
-re before consonants		94
-re before vowels		63
Total		205

Neue gives only about 170, and lists *reubrtērets*, Men. 256, as present passive, instead of future perfect active.

-ris at vs. or colon end		8
-ris elsewhere, not required by metre		13 (a)
-ris, accented, before consonants		4 (b)
-ris before vowels		4 (c)
Total		29

Among those marked (a), note Am. 344, *mentris nūnc*, at the end of a trochaic septenarius. Five show -ris standing in the weak part of the third foot of an iambic senarius—that is, just before the main caesura; but probably no significance is to be attached to the fact. Two prevent a

verse from ending with two iambs (Curc. 200, Mil. 505). The other five occur in various other places in the verse, and seem to show no points in common.

Those marked (*b*) are :—

As. 611, *mīnitaris mīhī*, iamb. septen.

Capt. 963, *mīnitaris mīhī*, troch. septen.

Ps. 237, *praeuōrtaris quam*, anap. septen.

Trin. prol. 1, *fūngaris tūōm*, iamb. sen.

Those marked (*c*) are :—

Am. 369, *mentris ētiam*, troch. septen.

Mil. 1171, *rēuerēdis ēt*, troch. septen.

Pers. 744, *lāmentēris*. ‡ *Occidī*, iamb. sen.

Poen. 1088, *utēris ut*, iamb. sen.

Out of 234 instances, therefore, only 29 end in *-ris*, and of these only 8 *must* so end. Interrogative forms in *-in* are not included in these figures.

In Curc. 40, 41, the joke depends upon the termination *-re*: Phaedromus uses *obloquere* as an indicative, but Palinurus chooses to understand it as an imperative. Compare the assonance in Most. 51 :—

Quasi inuidere mīhi hoc uidere, Grīmio.

The two endings are thus distributed among the tenses :—

	<i>-re</i>	<i>-ris</i>
Present indicative	132	21
Imperfect indicative	Ps. 798	
Future indicative	28	Poen. 1088
Present subjunctive	43	7
Imperfect subjunctive	Ps. 1236	
	205	29

They are thus distributed among the conjugations :—

	<i>-re</i>	<i>-ris</i>
First, passive	12	
deponent	78	16
Second, passive	12	
deponent	15	1
Third, passive	15	1
deponent	61	8
Fourth, passive	1	
deponent	11	3
	205	29

These figures show that the statements made in Madvig's Grammar, § 114, *b* certainly do not all hold good for Plautus. Of the words occurring most frequently, we may notice *arbitrare*, 10; *fabulare*, 9; *morare*, 7; *uidere*, 9; *loquere* and compounds, 30; *loqueris*, 4; *mentire*, 4; *mentiris*, 3.

§ 2.—*Miscellaneous Present Forms.*

coēpīō, Men. 960 (Nonius).

coepit, Aul. 461, Merc. 250. Cf. Truc. 232, and Pers. 121.

concrēdūō, Aul. 585; cf. Cas. 479.

interduo, Frag. Fab. Inc. 2 (Varro).

dānint, at vs. end, 10; med. vs., Pers. 256, Ps. 767.

dices, Trin. 606, is probably future, and not present as the context would seem to demand.

pudeo, Cas. 877; *taedeo*, Cas. frag. (Cledonius).

sustollo is found in the present system in Cist. 115, Poen. 349, Mil. 310, Cist. 550, Poen. 1168; the perfect forms *sustuli*, etc., 9 times.

tāgo, Mil. 1092 (Bothe); cf. *attigas*, etc., § 24.

A verb *tulo* is attested by Diomedes, who quotes the form *abstulas* as occurring in the Rudens; see § 25, ad. fin.

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.

§ 3.—*Aibam or aiebam?*

exaudibam, E. 239 (B).

scibam, shown by MSS., 5; by metre only, 2.

ai[]bas, 7, shown by metre only.

aiebas, 7.

nesci[]bas, B. 676 (Guyet).

scibas, Aul. 754 (MSS.), Ps. 500 (MSS.).

serui[]bas, Capt. 247 (Pylades).

ai[]bat, 15, shown by metre only.

aiebat, 16.

croccibat, Aul. 625 (*-ibat* MSS.).

praesagibat, Aul. 178 (MSS.).

scibat, Am. prol. 22 (B).

aiebatis, Capt. 676; the short form is not found in Plautus.

scibatis, R. 378 (MSS.).

ai[]bant, shown by metre only, Merc. 635, Mil. 66.

aiebant, 6.

gestibant, As. 315 (MSS.).

The manuscripts show 13 of these 41 short forms, and metre alone proves the remaining 28. Of the verb *aio*, the short forms of the imperfect occur 24 times, the full forms 30 times.

FUTURE INDICATIVE.

§ 4.—*Future in -bo.*

(i) Active, 39 instances :—

- aperibo*, Truc. 763.
aperiam, Men. 738.
communibo, R. 934, a.
conuenibo, Cas. 548.
conueniam, 7.
dormibo, Trin. 726.
dormiam, Most. 344.
expedibo, Truc. 138.
expediam, Am. 912.
grandibo, Aul. 49.
nescibo, Capt. 265.
reddibō, Cas. 129 (Nonius).
reddibo, Men. 1038 (*reddebo* B, *redhibeo* C), Nonius.
reddibō, Vid. 97 (93), Nonius, Priscian.
reddam, 18.
scibo, 7.
sciam, 8.
seruibo, Men. 1101, Merc. 546.
seruiēs, Pers. 617.
subuenibo, Men. 1009.
ueniam, etc., at least five times.
audibis, Capt. 619, Poen. 310.
audies, 5.
inseruibis, Most. 216.
scibis, 8.
scies, 23 at vs. end ; med. vs., 7.
<c>ibi<t>, R. 1101 (Acidalius).
conciēt, Am. 476.
saeuibit, E. 658.
scibit, E. 73, 154, Mil. 860.
sciet, four times at vs. end.
seruibit, Pers. 628.
scibimūs, Merc. 1017.
scietis, Mil. 794.
scibunt, Poen. 462.
sciēt, Am. 473.

(ii) Passive, 13 instances :—

Congrediár. # *Contra* ádgredfbor, Pers. 15 (A).

adgrediar, 9.

amicibor, Pers. 307.

[*congredebtor*, Most. 783, Ritschl ; -*iar*, MSS.]

demolibor, B. 383.

opperibor, Ps. 323, Truc. 209.

opperiar, 11.

largtðéré, B. 828.

⁵ ⁶

largiere, Mil. 1243.

oppertðéré, B. 48.

⁷ ⁸

custodibttúr, Capt. 729.

⁵ ⁶

mentibttúr, Mil. 35.

⁵ ⁶

reperibttúr, E. 151.

⁷ ⁸

reperietur, Cas. 1013.

scibitur, Capt. 785, bacchiac, med. vs.

subblandibttúr, B. 517.

⁵ ⁶

mentibtmúr, Mil. 254.

⁷ ⁸

§ 5.—Future in -so.

capso, B. 712 (MSS.).

occepso, Am. 673 (Nonius), Cas. 1001 (MSS.) ; *occepérti*, Am. 724.

⁷ ⁸

faxo, 74 instances. *Faxo* (and the same holds of other similar forms) is to be looked on as a future, *fac* -so, like λύ-σω, and not as a future perfect, in spite of such passages as B. 848–849, Capt. 695, Poen. 1191, Frag. 77, Fretum, where *faxo* and *fecero* stand close to each other. Cf. Aul. 788, 789, for the corresponding subjunctive.

effexis, Cas. 708 (B), Poen. 428 (A).

faxis, 9 as future ; for subjunctives see § 22.

respexis, Aul. 58 (B), R. 678, b (-es MSS.).

adempsit, E. 363 (B²).

aspexit, As. 770 (BDEJ).

capsit, Ps. 1022 (Camerarius ; *ceperit capsti*, BCD).

faxit, Cas. 1016 (A ; *flaxit*, B) ; for subjunctives see § 22.

iniexi<í>, Pers. 70 (Camerarius).

occepsit, As. 794 (MSS.).

câpstmús, R. 304 (MSS.), colon end.

³ ⁴

faxint, Poen. 1208 (MSS.).

Total, 98 instances.

§ 6.—*Future in -asso.*

Such forms as *amasso*, *enicasso* are not derived in any way from *amauero*, *enicauero*; they are futures, and not future perfects. Cf. S. 149:—

Néque ego té celdbo néque tu mé celdssis.

The instances in Plautus are confined to the first conjugation, *i.e.* we do not get in Plautus such a form as *prohibesso*. Yet we do get, as *aurist subjunctives*, such forms as *prohibessis*, Aul. 611, and *ambissit*, Am. prol. 71 (Fruterius); see § 22.

amasso, Cas. 1001, 1002.
commonstrasso, E. 441 (B²; *-strauero*, B¹).
enicasso, Most. 212, 223.
indicasso, Poen. 888.
liberasso, Most. 223.
pecasso, R. 1348.
reconciliasso, Capt. 576.
seruasso, Most. 228.
accurassis, Ps. 939, b.
adcurassis, Pers. 393 (*accurras sis*, BCD).
celassis, S. 149.
fraudassis, R. 1345 (*fraudas sis*, BD¹).
indicassis, R. 1028.
inritassis, Am. 454 (*inritas sis*, B).
inritassis, Pers. 828 (*inritas sis*, D¹).
inritassis, S. 345.
intrassis, Men. 416.
orasseis, E. 728 (A; *-is*, BJ).
peccassis, R. 1150, S. 727.
cenassit, S. 192.
comparassit, E. 122 (BJ).
decolassit, Cas. 307 (*decolla sit*, VE).
demutassit, S. 725 (*demutas sit*, CD).
occepassit, R. 776 (*occepas sit*, CD).
occupassit, As. 818 (*occupas sit*, BD).
peccassit, Cas. 825.
exoculássitís, R. 731 (*exoculas sitis*, CD).
inuitássitís, R. 811 (*inuitas sitis*, BCD).
mulcássitís, Mil. 163 (A; *mulca sitis*, B).
curassint, Poen. prol. 27 (*cura sint*, BC).
 Total, 33 instances.

Except S. 149, R. 1028, S. 724, these are all introduced by *si, nisi, nei, ubi, siue*.

With these compare such forms as *locassim*, § 23, and *impetrássère*, § 34.

§ 7.—Future in -em.

Ps. 214, *faciem*, B¹; *faciam*, A, editors.

Ps. 965, *faciem*, B; *faciet*, reliqui, editors.

Pers. 147, *faciē*, C; *faciam*, BD, editors.

Truc. 963, *sinem*, BCD; *sinam*, editors.

B. 405, *experier*, D¹; *experiar*, D², editors; *experior*, B.

In Mil. 676, *accipiem*, BCD, *accipiam* is probably subjunctive.

Such forms seem exceeding doubtful; even the passage in Quintilian (I. 7. 23) is not perfectly clear.

PERFECT INDICATIVE.

§ 8.—Second Person Singular, Active, of Perfects in -si.

abduxiti, Curc. 614 (B); cf. R. 862.

adduxitin, Capt. 1016 (MSS.); *adduxisti*, E. 156, R. 497.

aduxeti, Merc. 390 (D; *aduxit*, B).

auexiti, R. 862 (Acidalius "ex. cod."; *abduxisti*, BCD).

conscrips[]ti, As. 746 (Aldine).

depinxti, Poen. 1114 (AB).

detrus[]ti, Aul. 335 (Acidalius).

deuinx[]ti, As. 849 (Camerarius).

discesti, As. 251 (MSS.); cf. S. 395, *discessisti* (A).

dixti, 13 (11 MSS., 2 shown by metre only. A frequent variant is *dixit*).

Merc. 754, *dixtei*.

emunxti, Most. 1109 (Pius), 1110 (Pius, B²).

immersti, B. 677 (BCD).

instruxti, Mil. 981 (Camerarius; -xit, BCD); *instruxisti*, Mil. 1100, 1127.

intellexti, R. 1103 (MSS.); cf. Truc. 681, *intellexisti*.

intinxti, Truc. 294 (Scaliger; -xit, BCD).

intromis[]ti, Aul. 553 (Acidalius).

iustē, Men. 1146 (AD³); *iussisti*, six instances.

occlusti, Trin. 188 (ABC).

promisti, Curc. 705 (EJ); *promisisti*, four instances.

promistin, Curc. 709 (B); *promisisti*<n>, R. 1384.

scripsti, As. 802 (Pius; *scriptis*, MSS.).

traduxti, Cas. 579 (B²); cf. Cas. 597, *traduxisti*.

Twenty-four of these instances are shown by MSS., eleven by metre only
Note Merc. 658:—

Iam dixisti? # *Dixi.* # *Frustra dixti.*

VERB FORMS IN PLAUTVS

49

§ 9.—*Third Person Plural, Active.*

(i) *Fecerunt* or *fecere*?

-erunt at vs. or colon end		27
before consonants		66
before vowels		19
		112
-ere before consonants		13
before vowels		38
		51

(ii) *Fecērunt* or *fecērunt*?

-ērunt		78
-erūnt, quantity not shown		25
-ērunt		9
		112
-ēre		40
-ere, quantity not shown		11
		51

Forms like *adlegarunt*, Poen. 773, are not included in these figures (there are 11 such).

-ērunt at vs. or colon end :—

Am. 184, *fēcērūnt*, iamb. octon.

Pers. 160, *locāuērūnt*.

Most. 281, *mēruērūnt*.

Truc. 468, *occēpērūnt*.

B. 928, *subēgērūnt*.

-ērunt elsewhere :—

Poen. 223, *dēdērūnt*, bacchiac verse.

B. 668, *ēxcīdērūnt*, iamb. septen.

Poen. prol. 21, *dōrmītērūnt*, iamb. sen.

[Capt. 86, *rēdierūnt*, a doubtful instance.]

§ 10.—*Perfect Passive Forms.*

oblitus fui, etc. (*fueram, fuero, fuant, forem, fuerim*), at vs. end, 24 ; med. vs., 22, viz. :—Curc. 566, Merc. 228, Pers. 22, R. 217, Trin. 383, 1090 ; S. 722 ; Merc. 232, NO. I. VOL. I.

E

Most. 487; Am. 430; Most. 821; E. 123, Men. 472, Poen. 1280; E. 282; R. 218; Mil. 1083; Most. 799; Truc. 341; Pers. 380; E. 225; Pers. 79. Add *indutum fuisse*, Men. 515 [*oblitus fui*, etc. 6; *oblitus sum*, etc. 7].

Such forms prove to be more numerous than one might imagine, and they are by no means confined to words that make a neat verse-end.

§ 11.—Double Forms of Perfect.

aper<it>uistis?, Cist. 3 (Exon).

increpāui, Most. 750 (B; *increpitaui*, CD).

concrépuit, 9; (*con*)*crepuerunt*, 4.

increpui, R. prol. 69.

increpuit, Am. 1077.

concrédui, Cas. 479; the form *concrédūó*, Aul. 585, shows that we ought to

look upon this as a different formation, rather than as a wavering in principal parts.

concredidi, Aul. 615, Men. 702.

concrédīdt, Aul. prol. 6.

parsi, 8.

pepércēris, Aul. 381 (MSS., metre).

pepercisses, Truc. 375 (A; *parsisses*, BCD).

uota[ui]sti?, Capt. 704; *uotui*, Capt. 703, seems against this; yet cf. B. 865, 866, for sudden change (from deponent to active form).

§ 12.—Interchange of Voice.

coepi with active infinitive, 10; with deponent infinitive, 3; *coépta appéllarist*, Men. 718.

désitūmst potárīer, Most. 958.

nequūtur cómprīmt, R. 1064; *retrahū nequūtur*, Frag. 112, Saturio (Festus); *néc subigt queántur*, Pers. 194.

odi, 4; *ósa sum óptuérīer*, Am. 900.

licuit, 2; *licitumst*, 7 (for detailed references for this and the following verbs, see § 46).

lubuit, 4; (*con*)*lubitum est*, etc., 17.

placuit, 2; (*com*)*placitum est*, etc., 3.

puduit, 1; *puditumst*, 2.

miseritumst, Trin. 430, and *taesumst*, Most. 316, show no corresponding active forms.

§ 13.—Reduplication.

Gellius, VI. 9, mentions *cecurri*, *memordi*, *peposci*, *pepugi*, *spepondi*, as occurring in early Latin. He cites from Plautus *admemordit*, Aul. frag. 2 ; to this we may add *memordit*, Poen. 1074 (*me mordit*, C ; *momordit*, B).

Pupugi seems not to occur in Plautus in any form, and *cucurri* only in compounds. Of the other words we have at least three instances:—*popóscit*, Truc. 240 ; *popóscērit*, S. 556 ; and *spopondi*, Trin. 427,—all with -o-.

Gellius, VI. 9, also cites *praemorsisset*, Frag. 120, Trigemini. There are at least eleven instances of reduplication in compound verbs, viz. :—

abscondidi, Merc. 360, Frag. 51, Carbonaria (Priscian).

ac<cu>currimus, Cist. 710 (Lindsay).

condidici, Curc. 534.

excucurrērit, Most. 359.

excucurrisse, B. 359.

occucurri, Merc. 201 (B).

praecucurri, Merc. 223, S. 392.

praecucurristi, Am. 796, Men. 1057.

Other reduplicated forms are :—

réccidit, Poen. 1369 (A).

repperi, etc., numerous instances.

reppuli(t), B. 633, 967, Cas. 888, R. 672.

rettulit, etc., 6.

tetuli, etc., 12 (*te tuli*, Am. 716, Men. 381, 630).

tuli: Aul. 433, *ad <te> tuli*; Poen. 1067, *aegre tūll*; Curc. 644, *tūlerat* (MSS.).

adtuli, etc., more than forty instances.

Tetini and *tenui* are discussed by Lindsay, in *Harvard Studies*, IX, 127–130. He finds *tetini* established for Plautus by these four places :—

As. 582, *contini* (*continui*, MSS.), required by metre.

Am. 926, *abstinei* (*abstines*, MSS.).

Am. 690, *continit* (*continet*, MSS.).

Mil. 1327, *attinēre* (with transposition).

Tenui, and compounds, occurs 12 times, but Lindsay is of the opinion that “there is not sufficient evidence to prove that it ever was used by Plautus,” or, if it was used by him, to determine how far it competed with the form *tetini*.

§ 14.—Perfect of ire.

exiit, S. 459 (MSS.).

transiuit, Mil. 997 (BCD).

^{5 6}*tērō*, Capt. 194 (MSS.).

^{5 6}*tērō*, S. 484 (this verse is in A only).

^{5 6}*ambtuērīt*, Am. prol. 74 (MSS.).

iuisse, Most. 842 (ABCD).

Such forms as ^{5 6}*ēxīt*, Merc. 40; ^{5 6 7 8}*pēri<t>mūs*, Men. 1015; ^{5 6}*ābiērō*, E. 515; ^{5 6}*praetēriērīt*, Pers. 402, are fairly common at vs. end (at least 15 such). Add ^{5 6}*ēxīt*, Ps. 1282, bacchiac vs.; [*i*]*t*, perfect, Most. 25; *abīt*, Men. 450 (ABD); Mil. 251 (A); R. 325 (MSS.); *exit*, Mil. 376 (MSS.), 416 (MSS.); *exīt*, Ps. 730 (A only) *redi*[*i*]*t*, As. 395; *interi*[*i*]*t*, B. 950.

§ 15.—*Perfect of pono.*

(i) *Posiui* shown by MSS. readings, 6 instances:—

Ps. 1281, *posiui* (B), bacchiac verse.

Curc. 536, *deposiui* (B).

As. 519, *repositui* (BJ).

Truc. 460, *suppositui* (B), bacchiac verse.

Cas. 853, *exposiuit* (AB).

Trin. 145, ^{5 6}*postuērīs* (B).

(ii) *Posiui* shown by metre only, 7 instances:—

Mil. 905, *adpos<t>ui*, Camerarius.

R. 916, *praepos<t>ui*, Camerarius, bacchiac verse.

Most. 382, *depos<t>uit*, Camerarius.

R. 357, *inpos<t>uit*, Camerarius.

Curc. 356, *oppos<t>uit*, Camerarius.

Truc. 804, *suppos<t>uit*, Camerarius.

B. 306, ^{5 6}*depos<t>uīmūs*, Acidalius.

Add Vid. 103, ^{5 6}*postuīmūs*, Priscian, and *imposisse*, Most. 434 (BCD¹).

ARTHUR WINFRED HODGMAN.

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(To be continued.)

LVCILIANA.

IN 1871 it might well have been said that no Latin author was in worse need of a critical recension than Lucilius, and again in 1904 that none was in worse need of an exegetical commentary. The one want was supplied in 1872 by the edition of Lucian Mueller, and now Mr Friedrich Marx, by the publication of his second volume in 1905, has supplied the other. Both works deserve praise, both deserve thanks, and both deserve more thanks than praise; for while gratitude is earned simply by the element of good which a book presents to us, admiration must depend on the greater or less predominance of the good element over the bad.

The principal service rendered by Mueller's edition was that it provided scholars for the first time with precise and adequate information about the best available MSS of Nonius and of the other authors by whom Lucilius' fragments have been rescued. For the correction of those fragments it did something, but considerably less. Lucian Mueller, though a consummate metrist, a sound grammarian, and a literary man, was a somewhat superficial critic of no remarkable ingenuity, who emended Lucilius, like the other poets whom he edited, with much more promptitude than skill. The chief value possessed by the commentary of Mr Marx resides in its large collection of relevant facts and its provision of the necessary material on which to found true judgments or probable opinions. To the actual interpretation of the author it also makes a welcome contribution; but Mr Marx's readiness to explain is considerably greater than his faculty for explaining.

The truth is that the difficulties of the text of Lucilius are for the most part inexplicable and its corruptions for the most part irremediable. What more than anything else enables the critic and commentator of an ancient author to correct mistakes and to elucidate obscurities is their context; and a fragment has no context. An editor of Lucilius or Ennius or Nonius or the *reliquiae scaenicae*, unless he is grievously self-deluded, must know that the greater number of his corrections, and of his explanations also, are false. There is a simple test, if he cares to use it. The bulk of Lucilius' fragments is preserved to us by Nonius only: take Nonius' citations of an author whose works survive, try to explain or emend them, and then compare your efforts with the author's text. Nonius on p. 158 under the heading *puellos* quotes 'Lucretius nos tamen unde puellum suscipere et partus posset ditiscere dulci'. If Lucretius had perished like Lucilius,

Mueller would here have written '*nosset* tamen unde puellum | suscipere et *partu* posset ditescere dulci'; Mr Marx on the other hand would have said '*tradita uerba* non est cur mutemus: Memmiadam gaudere beata coniuge oportebat (non nos tamen), unde puellum suscipere et partus posset ditescere dulci augmine'. The verses in question are Lucr. iv 1252 sq. '*nactae pos sunt* tamen unde *puellos* | suscipere et *partu possent* ditescere dulci'.

Correction and explanation therefore are both hazardous; and they are both equally hazardous. There is no safety in sticking to the MSS, for their corruption is even greater than it seems. Nonius p. 533 cites from Lucilius (482 sq.¹) this description of Polyphemus' walking-stick, '*maius bacillum | quam malus nauis* in corbita maximus ulla'. Dousa conjectured *nauis*, but Mueller defended *nauis* and Mr Marx was on the eve of defending it. And it is defensible; for a monosyllabic *nauis* occurs once or twice in Plautus, and has to back it the analogy of *naufragus*, *naucula*, *nauculari*. But more than ten years ago a piece of mosaic was unearthed in Tunis, and there was a picture of a *corbita* with this verse: '*quam malus nauis e* corbita maximus *ullast*'. So Lachmann and Baehrens were right when they followed Dousa, and their only error was that they still adhered too faithfully to the MSS of Nonius. It is therefore no praise of an editor of Lucilius to say that he is conservative, and it is false to say that any editor of Lucilius is cautious. Cautious men do not edit Lucilius; they leave him to be edited by bold and devoted men, whose heroism they admire with that mixture of pity and self-congratulation which a Roman may be supposed to have felt as he saw Curtius descend into the gulf, or an Israelite as he watched the departure of the scapegoat into the wilderness.

Mr Marx's work, considered merely as an illustrative commentary, deserves almost the highest praise; his reading is so wide and his memory so retentive that hardly any Latin poet is now better provided than Lucilius with matter subsidiary to his interpretation. Very seldom have I noticed the omission of a relevant example, as at 109 (Non. p. 489) '*omne iter est hoc labosum atque lutosum*', where Enn. ann. 568 Vahl. *lamosque lutosas* and Vit. vi prooem. 2 *labidis itineribus* might be quoted for and against Mr Keller's *lamosum*; or at 18 (Non. p. 158) '*haec ubi dicta, dedit pausam ore loquendi*', where Mr Marx, contending for this punctuation, quotes a passage which tells in his favour, Verg. Aen. i 81 '*haec ubi dicta*', but neglects to quote passages which tell against him, ib. vi 628 and xii 81 '*haec ubi dicta dedit*'.² The only general fault to be found with his notes is that they contain superfluous matter and are diffusely and sometimes negligently written.

¹ I adopt throughout Mr Marx's numeration of the fragments, which is more convenient and less arbitrary than Mueller's. He says in his preface '*in primis cauendum esse duxi, ne temere certo alicui libro incertae sedis fragmenta tribuantur, quo per facile deducere solet editores fragmentorum noua docendi cupiditas*'; if this is a hit at Mr Vahlen's Ennius it is well deserved.

² Lucilius probably wrote '*haec ubi dicta dedit, pausam <dedit> ore loquendi*' (Verg. Aen. vi 76 '*finem dedit ore loquendi*'), and the scribe discarded the second *dedit*. The repetition of a single word in a couple of senses is one of those savage ornaments in which early Latin poetry is wretchedly rich: '*quod fors feret, feremus*' and so on.

Even when we pass from the illustration of the text to the much higher and harder task of its interpretation there is in Mr Marx's commentary a good deal to admire. He is neither, like some learned commentators, incapable of thought, nor, like others, averse to it; he goes patiently and circumspectly to work, approaches a question from more sides than one, and weighs or tries to weigh the probability of alternative solutions. To say that he then pronounces judgment in accordance with the evidence would be to say too much; for sometimes, after stating the case fairly enough, he will snap off the discussion with an 'ego arbitror' which has no reason to support it. But still, in a certain number, though not a large number, of passages, he has succeeded in clearing up what his predecessors had left dark; and in others he has offered interpretations which to say the least are plausible and attractive and worthy of provisional acceptance. Evident and certain I should call his explanations of 78 (Non. p. 11) 'nam quid moetino subrectoque (Scaliger, subiectoque MSS) huic opus signo?' (the explanation of 182 sq. is Mr Havet's¹), 495 (Non. p. 536) 'scit poeticon esse, uidet tunica et toga quid sit',² 507 sq. (Gell. i 16 10) 'nullus sequetur | maiore in spatio ac diuersus uidebitur ire', 529 (Non. p. 98) 'ex nimbo austellos', 802 (Non. p. 186) 'non mortifero adfectus uomicae (Lachmann, uomica et MSS) uulnere'; acceptable and probable his explanations of 552 sq. (Non. p. 7) 'ergo | fur dominum?', 794 (Non. p. 226) 'quare pro facie, pro statura Accius', 1029 (Non. p. 173) 'ea quae speciem uitae esse putamus', 1034 (Non. p. 335) 'circum, oppida lustrans', 1167 (Non. p. 207) 'et uentrem et gutturem eundem'; while his interpretation of 221 (Non. p. 546) 'urceus haut (Lachmann, aut MSS) longe Gemino, mixtarius Paulo', uncertain and even precarious though it is, is so highly ingenious that one hopes it may be true. Some of these explanations (221, 495, 552) are also defences of an assailed or suspected text; so here we approach the confines of interpretation and recension. To this borderland belongs the very best thing in Mr Marx's book, his combination of two fragments, 565 and 566, separately cited by Nonius on p. 149 and p. 56, into this sentence,

peniculamento uero (Dousa, uere MSS) reprehendere noli,
ut pueri infantes faciunt, mulierculam honestam;

and the note in which he explains and illustrates the sense of this passage is among the best examples of his diligence and erudition.

When we come to conjectural emendation proper, here too Mr Marx has accomplished something, though nothing great. The only conjecture of his

¹ Rev. de Philol. 1890 p. 86 'La phrase signifie : je te renseignerai quand même, puisque je suis resté vivant. Les vivants sont le petit nombre par rapport aux morts'.

² Mr Marx says 'auctoris nomine subtracto probat hanc interpretationem Muellerus ad Non. l. s. s.' Mueller in his Luciliana of 1884, p. 21, reviewing Mr

Marx's first work, had written as follows, 'Gut wird auch S. 20 xv, 16 ποιητικόν . . . nach Keller's Vorgang gegen meine Vermuthung poeticon vertheidigt und weiter begründet'. Two of the best corrections ever made in Lucilius, Turnebus' *Lupe saperdae* to at 54 and Lachmann's *nec es satis* at 1235, are accepted by Mr Marx 'auctorum nominibus subtractis'.

($\chi\rho\nu\sigma\iota\zeta\omicron\nu$ in 1155 is Munro's, Journ. of Phil. 1879 p. 219)¹ which I think certain is 942 (G.L.K. iv p. 212) 'nasum *deductius* (*diductius* MSS) quam pandius'; but in several places his corrections are the best yet offered, and possess that degree of likelihood which should entitle them to be received: 374 (G.L.K. vii p. 63) *abbibere* for *abbire* (though the rest of the verse remains unamended), 389 (Non. p. 235) 'tonsillas quoque, <quae> ualidis in funibus aptas', 574 (Non. p. 427) 'eduxique animam in primor<is fauc>ibus naris', which throws a new light on the sense, 715 (Non. p. 301) 'primum qua uirtute <sese> seruitute excluderit' 739 (Non. p. 472) where his transposition *salute inperit* seems better than Lachmann's alteration *sospita inperiti*, 1256 (Fest. p. 258) *collegere* for *colligere* instead of Scaliger's *collisere*.

But of his conjectures in general the best thing to be said is that they are somewhat less numerous than the conjectures of Mueller or Baehrens. Very few deserve any better name than tolerable, most of them are either tame or clumsy, and they are sometimes violent, sometimes causeless, and frequently absurd.

For violence, take a first example from the first book. Donat. ad Ter. And. 941 'nodum in scirpo quaeris] scirpus palustris res est leuissima. Lucilius in primo (36 Marx) "nodum in scirpo insano facere ulcus". est autem scirpus sine nodo et leuis iunci species'.

insanu' facessere uolgus Mueller, *insane quaerere uultis* Marx. Mr Marx assures us that Mueller was a man of desperate audacity, and reviewers assure us that Mr Marx is a conservative editor: what is the difference?

Donatus says nothing to indicate that he is quoting a second example of the proverb 'nodum in scirpo quaerere'. He professes to show from Lucilius that a *scirpus* is *res leuissima*; and his citation, in order that it may show this, need not be altered in a single letter:

— — — nodum in scirpo, in sano facere ulcus,²

'to cause a hitch where all was smooth, a sore where all was sound', like the emendation of a conservative editor. *sano* is neuter, $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\eta\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon$

¹ Mr Marx in vol. i p. v says of his apparatus criticus 'scripturas singulas emendatas religiose uindicauit auctoribus: si cui scripturae nomen auctoris aliquod additum non est, editori uelim tribuas'. He thus claims many emendations which are not his; for instance 155 *furia* (some MSS), 191 *sed nunc* (Mueller), 318 *isti* (Scaliger), 376 *an c* (Dousa), 659 *e* (MSS and edd.), 676 *Roma* (Mueller and others), 748 *iactat* (Iunius), 884 *alieni simul* (Baehrens), 1046 *hanc* (Lachmann). Two or three of these he subsequently assigns to their true owners in the commentary, where however at 656 he puts forward Lachmann's *ei* as his own, forgetting also that at 43 and again in the index he has denied to Lucilius the use of the dative of *is*. His apparent unwillingness to mention the name of Munro is curious and noteworthy. At 303 Munro's correction of Non. p. 308 is ascribed to Mr Stowasser; at 311 Munro's conjecture *omen o* is ascribed to Baehrens;

Munro's explanation of 474 sq. is ascribed to Mr Havet; at 497 Munro's note on Lucr. v 154 (cited with extraordinary irrelevance, but let that pass) is ascribed to Giussani, who quotes it in inverted commas and assigns it to Munro by name; at 1364 Mr Marx says 'Ennii potius uersus aliis uideri refert Briegerus', when Mr Brieger's words are 'Enniana sibi uideri dicit Munro'; at 131 he says 'quem usum uocabuli uidere agnoscunt in traditis apud Horat. carm. i 20 10, ubi uide quae Hertzius adnotauit', whereas what Hertz has noted is that Munro conjectured *uides* in the year 1871 and that two scholars have followed him. On the other hand *poesis* in 343 is ascribed to Munro though Munro ascribed it to Mr Ellis.

² So, as I now find, Mr Havet in *Rev. de Philol.* 1890, p. 89. And Mr Marx has suppressed this conjecture and published his own.

σώματος, as Propertius says iii 24 18 'uulneraque *ad sanum* nunc coiere mea'.

388. Donat. ad Ter. And. 324 'ne iste haud mecum sentit] ne, ualde, aut, ut quidam uolunt, o quam. Lucilius in decimo "ne in arce bouem descripsi magnifice inquit".'

The words 'in arce bouem' were elucidated by Jahn, who adduced Paus. i 24 2 and other references to the brazen bull in the acropolis of Athens. The metre wants a syllable after *ne*, and Latin usage requires that this syllable should be a personal or demonstrative pronoun. If we ask what pronoun, the answer is given by the three forms which the verb assumes in the MSS: *descripsi*, *descripsisti*, *descripsit*. Here is no need of conjecture, but merely of palaeographical interpretation: these variants mean that the archetype had *descripsi*. The lost pronoun therefore is the pronoun which would most easily be lost when it stood next to *in*:

ne <tu> in arce bouem descripsi magnifice, inquit.

The hiatus is like 1020 (Non. p. 387) 'quid seruas quod eam, quid agam? quid id attinet ad te?' Mr Marx writes

ne <illum ego> in arce bouem descripsi magnifice, inquit,

and says 'pronomen *illum* ad *in arce bouem* ut adiciatur flagitat sensus'. How so? who shares that opinion?

315 sq. Non. p. 533 'cercyrus naus est Asiana pergrandis . . . Lucilius satirarum lib. viii "uerum flumen uti atque ipso diuortio igneis pedibus cyrcerum concurret aequis"'. This in the hands of Mr Marx becomes

uerum flumen uti, atque ipso *de uortice* <montis
saxum> *ingens*, pedibus cercurum *currere ut* aequis,

and is supposed to describe a horse; a wonderful horse, which moves as fast as a stone falling from a mountain-top, and yet no faster than a river.

For examples of causeless alteration take the following.

258 sq. Non. p. 111 'Lucilius lib. vi

peccare inpune rati sunt
posse et nobilitate facul propellere iniquos'.

nobilitati' Marx: 'ablatius intellegi nequit; neque enim potest esse instrumenti neque separationis'. Of course it is the abl. instr.; it means 'by the advantage of birth', τῇ εὐγενείᾳ εἶναι.

1002. Non. p. 35 'nugator, nugis turbator. Lucilius lib. xxx
quam me hoc tempore, nugator, cognoscere non uis'.

What is wrong with this? We do not indeed know what noun was the antecedent of the relative *quam*, nor whether it is the subject or the object of *cognoscere*; but plenty of antecedents can be supplied which will fit it for either function. Mr Marx

says nothing against the MS reading; he simply alters it, *quom* for *quam*, and then composes one of those astounding fictions on which I shall have more to say anon: 'domini uerba sunt qui seruum uerbis increpat (Pers. v 127) negantem sese dominum agnoscere: "mox loris ureris, quom me nugator nunc cognoscere non uis".'

Examples of absurdity come to hand in such numbers that selection is difficult; but here are a few.

268. Non. p. 200 'collus masculino . . . Lucilius satirarum lib. vii caldais seme ac bene plenai iasolorum atque anseris collus'. Mr Marx writes

calda siem ac bene plena, si olorum atque anseris collus,

and explains 'docet mulier de uirtutibus, quibus uitia corporis compensentur: debet calida esse animo mulier et bene plena corpore, si olorum atque anseris collo est praedita'. That he supposes *calda* to mean amorous, which it never does mean, and that he elides a long monosyllable where a long monosyllable never is elided, are trifles in comparison. Other scholars have proposed conjectures here, improbable enough, but not ridiculous: Mr Marx therefore, with much prudence, mentions none of them.

311. Non. p. 84 'colustra, lac concretum in mammis. Lucilius lib. viii beram sulam fomento omnicolore colustra'.

'Hunc uersum qui apte emendarit,' says Lucian Mueller, 'is uero magnus mihi erit Apollo'. Mr Marx's candidature for apotheosis takes this form,

permulsam fomento, <horto> omnicolore, colustra.

And certainly none but the god of divination could guess that this means 'anum diuitem, permulsam fomento, pomis uariis, colustreae deliciis captat hereditipeta uel alius quis'.

328 sq. (Non. p. 216).

quid ergo? si tenera ostrea
cognoritur fluuium limum ac caenum sapere ipsum.

tenera is Mr Marx's emendation for *cerno*. Nobody has ever yet seen the adjective *tenera* attached to the substantive *ostrea*: what does it mean? 'magno pretio coempta' says Mr Marx.

940. Non. p. 107 'eugium, media pars inter naturalia muliebria. Lucilius in epodis hymnis sine eugio ac destina'. Emended thus,

_ sine podice Hymnis, <si> sine eugio,
ac destinas;

and expounded thus, 'agitur de meretrice a lenone redimenda insanus es, si est utroque loco solida nata Hymnis ac destinas'.

But the quality of Mr Marx's conjectures does not injure them in the esteem of their author, who very greatly prefers them to anyone else's. 69 sq. (Non. p. 102) 'nunc, *Nomentani quae* ex testibus ipse rogando | exculpo, haec dicam':

this generally accepted correction of Scaliger's for the *nomen iamque* of the MSS is uncertain, but neat and plausible; Mr Marx's 'nunc <in> nomen iam, quae' etc. is equally uncertain, and the reverse of neat. In the year 1882 Mr Marx proposed quite a different conjecture, 'nunc nomen litemque': his emendations vary as time goes on, but they are always preferable to Scaliger's. 265 sq. (Non. p. 95) 'rador, subuellar, desquamor, punicor, ornor, | expilor, pingor'. F. Dousa restored the metre by altering *expilor* to *expolior*: the change is of the slightest, and is confirmed by Plaut. Poen. 220 sq. 'ornari, | poliri, expoliri, pingi' and 229 'ornantur... poliuntur'. Mr Marx writes 'expilor <ex>pingor', a conjecture which would probably have lost its charm if he had remembered that *expingor* had already been proposed by Baehrens. 611 (Non. p. 372) 'porro amici est bene praecipere tueri bene praedicare'. Mercier's emendation 'porro amici est bene praecipere, Tusci bene praedicere', like most emendations of Lucilius, falls short of certainty; but it is so apt and so dexterous that it rejoices the reader's heart. Mr Marx's 'porro "amici est bene praecipere, bene tueri" praedicant' is no more ungainly than his wont; but the union of ἀκρισία and φιλαυτία which prefers this conjecture to Mercier's is something out of the common. 'tuendi uocabulum', says he, 'quod tutoris officium indicat, non potest seruari nisi ea qua utimur transpositione'. Well? who desires 'tuendi uocabulum seruari'? what Lucilius says is 'amici est', not *tutoris*. 781 (Non. p. 121) 'utrum anno an horno te abstuleris a uiro'. Metre, not structure, is incomplete, and is completed by Lachmann with *res*, by Mueller with *tete*. Mr Marx prefers his own *tecum*, which has the double merit of being less easy than either and of making the structure as incomplete as the metre was. 965 (Paul. p. 276) 'quaenam uox ex te resonans meo gradu remoram facit?'. One syllable is missing, and the sense shows where, for 'ex te resonans' is ludicrous; so Bergk proposes *tecto*, Ribbeck *aede*, another scholar *terra*. Mr Marx prefers, in correcting the metre, to redouble the absurdity; he retains *te* and alters *quae* to *quoia* (which, to judge from his note, he supposes to mean *qualis*). So now we have 'quoia nam uox ex te resonans': I suppose the person addressed is a Lamia who has just swallowed a baby whole, and the child is heard crying for its mother. 1021 (Non. p. 121) 'quod tua laudes, culpes, non proficis hilum'. Mueller inserts <tu> after *tua*, but this is not violent enough for Mr Marx, who prints his own conjecture *tu<nunc>* and says nothing of Mueller's. 1080 sq. (Non. p. 287) 'sicubi ad auris | fama tuam pugnam claram adlata dicasset'. Baehrens restored the metre with the minimum of change, *claram* <mi>; Mr Marx conceals this fact and says 'desiderari arbitror praeclearam pugnam dici, non claram'. Arbitratur; that is all. And that is quite as good a reason as he gives at 688 (Non. p. 308) for preferring his own conjecture to Lachmann's. For 'item populi' Lachmann had written 'rem populi', but Mr Marx is of opinion 'artius oportere editorem sequi litteras apud Nonium traditas'; and his notion of closer adherence to those letters is to write *te*, *Popli*.

There is a golden sentence in Nipperdey's preface to Tacitus: 'praecipue

autem[¶]prauam ambitionem, in quam complures delapsi sunt, ut iis locis, qui facili opera pluribus modis emendari possent, sua scilicet inuenta nulla re meliora superiorum correctionibus substituerent, procul habendam et iis, qui primi uitia indagassent et remouissent, nisi postea meliora, sed alia tantum et paria prolata essent, suam laudem seruandam duxi'. Mr Marx however is not of Nipperdey's opinion: when there is nothing to choose between two conjectures he always prefers the later to the earlier, provided that the earlier is another's and the later is his own. 732 (Non. p. 37) 'insanum uocant, quem maltam ac feminam dici uidet.' Anyone who looks at this verse can see that there are three possible ways of amending it, all equally probable. The alternative Turnebus chose was *uident*, and everyone followed him till Baehrens in 1886 was egotistical enough to substitute[¶]the second alternative, *uocans*. The third alternative, *uocat*, was now left lying on the ground for anyone who was not too proud to take it: Mr Marx stoops down and picks it up, and his touch transmutes[¶] it to pure gold. Conjectures, to his eyes, are arranged in this threefold order of merit: 1st the conjectures of Mr Marx, 2nd the conjectures of mankind in general, 3rd the conjectures of certain odious persons. Conformably to this classification he sets *uocat* in the text, because it is his own; relegates *uident* to the note, because it is another man's; suppresses *uocans* altogether, because it is Baehrens's. 56 (Donat. Ter. Phorm. 123) 'qui te montane malum ad cetera pergit'. Baehrens proposed 'qui <di> te, Montane, malum! <tum> ad cetera pergit'. For *tum*, which he ignores, Mr Marx substitutes *atque*, as if that were superior. 944 (Prisc. G.L.K. ii p. 379) 'a me auxiliatus si est.' Quicherat proposed *siet*, but Mr Marx finds *sies* preferable, because Quicherat did not propose it. 1089 (Non. p. 370) 'quanti uos faciant, socii, *comparcere* possint'. Everyone reads '*cum* parcere': Mr Marx suppresses the fact and presents *quom* as his own emendation.

This parental fondness conspires with another frailty to defeat Mr Marx's efforts for the improvement of the text: he does not understand the critical art, nor go the right way to work in attempting a correction. The fragment 493 sq. (Non. p. 2), when its first half has been restored by a famous emendation of Lachmann's, is still in part corrupt:

in numero quorum nunc primus Trebellius multost
Lucius, *narcessibai* febris, senium, uomitum, pus.

A critic, before he lays a finger on *narcessibai*, surveys the context and observes the accusative *vomitum*, which tells him that *narcessibai* conceals a transitive verb. Mueller accordingly proposed *nam arcessit* and Munro *nam creat ibus*, both quite uncertain, but not irrational or arbitrary. Mr Marx will not condescend to learn the road by reading the signposts: he prefers to domineer and err. It is his will and pleasure that *narcessibai* should be altered into something scarce less monstrous than itself, *narce*, *saeva i*; and *vomitum* he declares to be a neuter substantive, which has kindly consented to appear, by special request, for this occasion only.

14. Non. p. 521 'miracula ueteres pro monstris uel horrendis ponebant. Lucilius satirarum lib. i miracula ciet etelefantas'. Our only clue to what Lucilius is talking about is Nonius' explanation. Mr Marx writes 'miracula ciet *tylyphantas*' (Doric for *τυλυφάντης*): 'agitur si recte scripsimus de culcitarii artibus'. Is a pillow a portentous or terrific object? When Bentley proposes *ancipiti* (ferro) for *ancipites* (cardines) at 840 (Non. p. 245 anceps, duplex), Mr Marx objects that it is 'contra Nonii testimonium', and he makes the same objection to Mercier's punctuation of 848 (Non. p. 350): Mercier and Bentley, it appears, 'accipiunt leges, quibus Marcius legibus exlex'.

691 (Non. p. 320) 'nullo honore displetu nullo funere'. Mr Marx prints

nullo honore, <lu>dis, fletu <nullo>, nullo funere,

in which *fletu* is Lachmann's and the additional *nullo* Mr Vahlen's: the former seems certain and the latter very probable. But, if they are right, *ludis* must be wrong. Men of letters do not write verses like this, four nouns to three *nullo*'s and the odd noun a plural; they write verses like Laber. 102 Ribb. 'nullus timor, uis nulla, nulla auctoritas'. *dis* may stand for a verb or a nominative or a genitive, but an ablative is the one thing for which it cannot stand unless the rest of the verse is otherwise corrected.

And now we are come to the outskirts of that perilous region in which an editor of Lucilius encounters his severest trial. The question is for ever arising whether the tradition of the MSS is true or false; and, because the relics of Lucilius are fragmentary, it is often very hard to answer. An editor, to acquit himself here with credit, requires three things: ample knowledge, sure judgment, and strict impartiality. Mr Marx's impartiality and judgment, it is already plain, leave something to be desired; and so also does his knowledge.

That a scholar should undertake to edit a poet without first acquiring a due familiarity with metre is no doubt improper, but it has now so often happened that it causes little indignation or surprise. The present age, moreover, is not an age of metrists; and hexameters beginning with *sicuti*, as in the good old days before 1850, are not peculiar to Mr Marx nor to texts of Lucilius: they are exhibited in other authors by other scholars who can neither follow the reasoning of Lachmann's note on Lucr. ii 536 nor learn any lesson from what they find in the MSS at such places as Plaut. mil. 727 or aul. 222. Mr Marx indeed has more tact than some of his contemporaries, and does not propose to variegate dactylic poetry with Mr Stowasser's comic scansion *abēst* and *uocās* and *lacēssisse*. But his knowledge of metre is not adequate to his task. 275 (Non. p. 110) 'hic est Macedo, si *agrion* longius flaccet' has been variously altered: Mr Marx says that *Agrion* is a proper name, and he scans it *Agrion*, like *Arion*. At 74 (C.G.L. iv p. xviii) he has '— — — — — *pedicum* iam excoquit omne': *pedicum* is to mean *φθειράσιν*, but how the Latin tongue is to form *pedicum* out of *pedes* he makes no effort to explain. At 212 (Non. p. 158) 'pecus nasi rostrique repandum' he says

'sicuti incert. u. 1126 transuerso ordine posuit metri necessitate coactus *camphippi* pro *hippocampi*, ita hoc loco per iocum *rostri repandum* pro *repandirostrum*': *rostri repandum* pro *repandirostrum*. At 223 (Prisc. G.L.K. ii p. 115) he ends an hexameter with '— — — scutam', and does not think it his duty to enquire how *scūta* can have given rise to a diminutive *scūtula*. At 1160 (Varr. l. l. v 80) he scans *praeire* as — — — and refers, for all defence, to L. Mueller de r. m. ed. 2 p. 289, i.e. to Christian writers of the 5th and 6th centuries: the one example which might lend some slight colour to his scansion, the 'domino *praeiret* Arion' of Statius' MSS at Theb. vi 519, he does not seem to know. At 267 (Non. p. 215) he prints his own conjecture 'plena si olorum', and as parallels to this unparalleled elision he quotes such common sights as 'hoc si erit' and 'et si aliud'. At 117 (Non. p. 25) '*broccus nouit lanus*', where Turnebus very plausibly conjectured *Bouillanus*, Mr Marx prints *Nouitlanus* and suggests *Noui Aeclanus*. The first poet to use such forms as a gen. *Nōui* from a nom. *Nōuius* is Propertius, who has *Deci, Mari, Tati*: in Virgil the gen. of *fluuius* is not *fluui* but *fluuii*, and poets earlier than Virgil use neither the one form nor the other. At 1067 (Prisc. G.L.K. ii p. 488) 'quis totum scis | cōrpūs | iam perolesse bisulcis', where Lachmann proposed 'scis iam corpus', Mr Marx quotes against him Lucr. ii 907 'sed tamen esto iam | posse haec aeterna manere', and he calls these 'eidem numeri'. Again at 729 (Non. p. 237) '*cum pacem peto, cum placo, cum adeo et cum appello meam*', where Lachmann preferred the better and more usual rhythm *pacem cum peto*, Mr Marx controverts him as follows: 'de simili discrepantia accentus metri et uerborum consulto a poetis quaesita nusquam certius licet iudicare quam in septenarii principio; milites enim cantabant "Gallias Caesar subegit Nicomedes Caesarem", cum liceret commodius cantare "Caesar Gallias subegit", item Porcius Licinus scripsit "Poenico bello secundo" e. q. s. cum promptum fuerit scribere "bello Poenico secundo": '*promptum* fuerit', '*commodius* cantare', '*simili* discrepantia': such notions of the trochaic tetrameter has an editor who is not afraid to wrangle about rhythm with Lachmann. In the matter of short vowels lengthened by a mute and a liquid Mr Marx again attempts to play the metrist without success. In his index metricus, vol. i pp. 167–8, he recognises only two examples of this lengthening in hexameters *ἐν ᾠσεί, ῥέτρό* 1012 and *ὑτρώque* 358, and adds 'Lucretius in hoc usu Lucilii est simillimus: saepissime omnium in arsi producit *retro* et *uterque* *uter* casus obliquos'. Accordingly he objects to *fēbris* 493, though at 923 we have *fēbris* even in a scenic metre, where it has much less right. But he forgets to object to *quādráginta* 526 and *trīclīni* 1107, which he prints without remark. Of the lengthening in hexameters *ἐν θέσει* he asserts in the index that it occurs 'tantummodo in uersus fine'; and on this ground he rejects at 1219 (Fest. p. 376) Huschke's admirable correction 'neque *sācramenta* ueretur'. Yet he himself prints *semīgraecei* in the middle of a verse at 379 and *callīplocamon* at 540, and *Cyclops* at the beginning of a verse in 482. In short, this is a country where Mr Marx is not at home.

And there is another: Latium. For the office of editing Lucilius Mr Marx

is not sufficiently acquainted with the language which Lucilius spoke. It is no very favourable augury that his first volume is dedicated 'Francisco Buechelero Hermanno Vsenero'. The philological seminary of Bonn, since Ritschl's departure to Leipsic in 1865, has bred few good Latinists, and Mr Marx is not of the number. 31 (Lact. inst. v 14 3) 'non Carneaden si ipsum Orcus remittat': 'praesenti remittat utentem deum immortalem lepide facit poeta, cum mortales in rebus quae nullo pacto possint fieri utantur imperfecto'. Therefore at Verg. georg. ii 43 'non mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum' we shall infer either that it is feasible to have 100 mouths and tongues or else that Virgil was an immortal god. 76 sq. (Non. p. 25) '*hostilibus* contra | pestem permitiemque': *hostibus* Dousa, *Hostilius* Passerat, *hostibimus* Palmer.¹ Undismayed by this formidable conspiracy Mr Marx retains the text, and his only pretence of defending it is to quote 'Hom. ζ 184 πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσιν'. *hostilibus* no more means *δυσμενέεσσιν* than *ciuilibus* means *πολίταις* or *meus* means *ἐγώ*. 154 sq. (Cic. Tusc. iv 48) 'in os prius accipiam ipse, | quam gladium in stomacho *furia* (*suria* most MSS) ac pulmonibus sisto': '*furia* scripsi, quod aut nominatiuus aut pro ablatiuus *ira* uel *odio* positum est'. Which is stranger, the ignorance of the Roman tongue which fancies that *furia* could mean *odio* or *ira*, or the ignorance of the Roman mind which fancies that a man would apply this noun to himself? 159 (Prisc. G.L.K. ii p. 217) 'rinocerus uelut Aethiopus': 'lib. iii u. 118 ... *rinoceros* Graeca forma tradita est. hoc loco *rinocerus* scripsit poeta ut *rhetoricoterus* lib. ii u. 86', i.e. because *rhetoricoterus* is Latin for *ῥητορικώτερος* therefore *rinocerus* is Latin for *ῥινόκερως*. 293 (Non. p. 496) 'fastidimus bonorum': 'genetiuus, ut *fastidire Agamemnonis* lib. xxvi u. 654. pugnat in hac structura uerborum antiquitus genetiuus cum ablatiuo: sicuti in aliis uictor euadit ablatiuus'. Where are the examples of this victorious construction, *fastidire* cum ablatiuo? 582 (Non. p. 215) 'nasum rectius nunc homini est suraene pedesne?': '*nunc* in enumeratione positum idem fere est atque *porro*'. No instance is cited, and for the best of reasons. 734 (Non. p. 296) 'ego enim an perficiam (pereiciam MSS) ut me amare expediat?' was so emended by Madvig adu. crit. i p. 18, 'relicto' said he 'in litteris *an* mendo'. But Mr Marx prints this collocation of particles, without apology, as if it were Latin. 665 (Non. p. 38) *repperii*: this monstrous form Mr Marx introduces by conjecture for the *repperi* of the MSS and supports it only by Diom. G.L.K. i p. 371, who gives *reperiui* and *reperii* as the regular perfects of *reperio*. At 1282 (Gell. iii 14 8) it appears that 'quidni et ... laudat' is only a misprint; and Mr Marx's extraordinary use of inferential particles and formulas (p. 334 l. 16 *enim*, p. 204 l. 1 *inde euincitur*, ib. l. 17 *unde apparet*) seems due less to ignorance of Latin than of logic.

It is of a piece with this want of grammatical knowledge that Mr Marx should often mistake the meaning of simple words and phrases. At 239 (Non. p. 68) '*siccā* atque abstemiam', which he explains quite rightly as 'non uinosam', he

¹ Mr Marx applies the name 'Palmerius' indifferently to a Frenchman of the 17th century called

Jacques Le Paulmier and an Englishman of the 19th called Arthur Palmer.

quotes as parallel Ouid. art. ii 685 sq. 'odi quae praebet, quia sit praebere necesse, | siccaque de lana cogitat ipsa sua', a strange misapprehension: what *sicca* there means may be seen from epist. Sapph. 134 and Mart. xi 81 2. At 316 (Non. p. 533) 'pedibus cercurum . . . aequis' he first cites, after Munro and others, Cic. ad Att. xvi 6 1, where *pedibus* in the same phrase means *νεὼς ποσσίν*, the sheets; then he proceeds 'item Ouid. ex Pont. iv 5 3 "ite leues elegi, doctas ad consulis aures . . . longa uia est, nec uos *pedibus* proceditis *aequis* | tectaque brumali sub niue terra latet"', and not even 'terra' warns him to stop and think of amor. iii 1 7 sq. 'uenit odoratos *Elegia* nexa capillos, | et, puto, *pes* illi *longior alter* erat'. At 613 sq. (Non. p. 437) 'Romanus populus . . . superatus proeliis | saepe est multis, bello uero numquam, *in quo sunt omnia*' he quotes apposite examples like Cic. epist. vi 10 2 'de tua incolumitate, in quo sunt omnia' and then irrelevantly adds pro Mil. 19 'certe haec in illa causa summa omnia fuerunt', which means 'omnia haec in illa causa fuerunt summa', 'all these features were present in that case in the highest degree'. At 712 sqq. (Non. p. 88) 'tu Lucilium | credis contenturum, cum me ruperint (ruperim edd.), summa omnia | fecerim?' he says of *summa omnia facere* (which means to do one's very best, faire son possible) that 'Lucilius hac locutione hic utitur similiter atque aput Graecos Xenoph. instit. Cyr. viii 8 2 τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πεποιηκόσιν, iii 1 9 et 22 πάντα τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν'; and on *contenturum* he writes this note, '*contenturum* absolute positum ut Cic. de orat. i 206 "petimus ab Antonio, ut ea, quae continet neque adhuc protulit . . . explicet nobis", Ter. eun. 103 "quae uera audiui, taceo et contineo optume"' : he regards *quae continet* and *contineo quae audiui* as examples of '*continere* absolute positum'. At 974 sq. (Non. p. 371) 'uti pecudem te, asinumque ut denique nasci | praestiterit' he says '*uti pecudem te asinumque ut*, i.e. *uti pecudem te et ut asinum*: C. Gracchus ORF ed. ii p. 235 M "*ut pateremini hoc tempore me quiescere ne a stirpe genus nostrum interiret et uti aliqua propago generis nostri reliqua esset*"'. These italics are his, and they show that he believes *et* to link *uti . . . esset* with *ut pateremini*: of course it links *uti . . . esset* with *ne . . . interiret*, both of which depend on *quiescere*. At 1115 sq. (Don. Ter. eun. 687) 'at Hymnidis acri | ex facie florem delegeris' he says '*acri* non ausus sum mutare' and explains it to mean *strenua*, as if you could cull flowers from a brisk determined aspect; and he cites as parallel firstly 'uosne, *acrior aetas*, o iuuenes' from Ovid and secondly 'Baeticarum *pondus acre* lanarum' from Martial. At 1267 (Porph. Hor. carm. i 27 1) 'podicis, Hortensi, est ad eam rem nata palaestra' he says 'non ad puerum sed ad mulierem qualem Dauus laudat Horatii serm. ii 7 50 uersus uidetur spectare'. This means that he misunderstands either Lucilius or Horace: the words 'clunibus aut agitauit equum lasciuia supinum' contain no allusion to 'podicis palaestra'. At 870 sq. (Non. p. 31) 'nec uentorum flamina flando *suda* secudent' he says 'flamina *suda* πνεῦμα οὐριον'. The Greek for *sudus* is εὐδιος: οὐριος is the Greek for *secundus*.

Now from this lack of Latin there ensues, first of all, the natural consequence that even where the text of Lucilius is sound, or at any rate defensible, Mr Marx nevertheless is often unable to comprehend it, and his explanations are improbable

or wrong. The very first line of the first book (Varr. l. L. v 17) is punctuated thus :

aetheris et terrae genitabile quaerere, tempus.

genitabile is to mean τὸ γόνιμον, and the verse is to signify 'it is time (A. V. C. 628) to enquire' etc. The reader halts with his foot on the threshold and 'Here' says he 'is an interpreter whom I cannot trust'.

161 sq. (Non. p. 207).

haeret uerticulis adfixum in posteriore
parte atque articulis; nam, ut nobis talus genusque, est.

'agitur de osse hominis in collo posito'. De nulla hominis parte agitur: that is shown by the presence of *nobis* in the second clause. Nonius foolishly quotes this passage as an example of *genus* masc., and Mr Marx, so far from pointing out the error, appears to share it, for he adds '*collum* Lucilius masculino genere posuit'.

213 (Non. p. 392) 'interea stat sentibus pectus'. Mueller explains this by comparing 1301 'stat sentibus fundus' and Hor. epist. i 14 4 sq. 'spinas animone ego fortius an tu | euellas agro' what could be more rational and probable? Mr Marx ignores him, and concocts this laughable romance: 'describitur homo errabundus per rubeta spinas solitudines: dum aegre pedem promouet per densa ruborum impedimenta, interea stat sentibus pectus, quibus caput et crura foede descobinantur'.

334 (Non. p. 493) 'si nihil ad faciem et si olim lupa prostibulumque'. *nihil ad faciem* apparently means 'nothing to look at', like Liu. xxvi 16 3 'uirum se fortissimum ab nequaquam pari *ad uirtutem* occidi'. Mr Marx collects examples of *ad* meaning 'compared with' (like Cic. de or. ii 25 'nihil ad Persium') jumbled up with examples of *ad* meaning 'to match' (like Plaut. trin. 874 'alterum ad istanc capitis albitudinem'), and concludes 'ex his exemplis apparet apud Lucilium in uersu antecedenti genetium fuisse positum ueluti "Hymnidis pulchrae".'

457 sq. (Prisc. G.L.K. ii p. 215).

naumachiam licet haec, inquam, alueolumque putare et
calces: delectes te, hilo non rectius uiuas.

'These things'—the common objects of men's desires—'are mere plays and pastimes': the rest of the sentence Mr Marx interprets 'his si delectabere, ne minimum quidem proficies in recte uiuendo'. But sports and games are not *faul* to our improvement, they are merely profitless: the words mean 'his delectabere fortasse, sed nihilo tamen rectius uiues'.

461. Non. p. 230 'uulgus neutro genere . . . Lucilius satirarum lib. xiv dilectum uideo studiose uulgus habere'.

'neutro genere apud Lucilium *uulgus* dici manifestum est accusatiuo *uulgus*.

itaque *dilectum* non pertinet ad *uulgus* sed ad hominem quendam, quem uulgus carum habet'. So Mr Marx, and he quotes two examples of 'carum habere aliquem', but of '*dilectum habere aliquem*' he quotes none. No wonder, for the Latin phrase *dilectum habere* has a very different sense: it means *συλλογὴν ποιεῖσθαι*.

534-6 (Non. p. 235).

ibat forte aries, inquit; iam quod genus! quantis
testibus! uix uno filo hosce haerere putares,
pellicula extrema exaptum pendere onus ingens.

'*pellicula* quid sit' says Mr Marx 'edocet Porphyrio ad Hor. serm. i 9 69 "*curtos Iudaeos dixit quia uirile membrum uelut decurtatum habent recisa inde pellicula*"'. Has Mr Marx ever seen a ram? *pellicula* means *tergore*, as in Iuu. i 11. Where a commentator ought to speak, Mr Marx is silent, and says nothing about the phrase 'uno filo haerere'. It must signify 'to be of one piece with the rest of the animal', but I recall no other example of it. I miss also the illustrative citation Tert. de pall. i 'arietem non quem Laberius (154 Ribb.) reciprocicornem et lanicutem et testitrahum'.

542-4 (Non. p. 26).

conpernem aut uaram fuisse Amphitryonis acoetin
Alcmenam atque alias, Helenam ipsam denique—nolo
dicere: tute uide atque disyllabon elige quoduīs.

These verses were punctuated by Haupt opusc. i p. 186 and explained by Munro Journ. of Phil. vii pp. 307 sq.: the 'disyllabon' will be *ualgam*, *lippam*, *broccam* or the like. Mr Marx says 'uersum disyllabo apte expleat aliquis si *moecham* uel *scortum* addat': immo ineptissime. 'atque in eo potissimum iocus pollet Lucilii, quod eam, quae loquitur, tamquam loquentem in uita inducit personam uersu hexametro, quo ipse utitur poeta. unde'—observe the logic—'apparet non poetam ipsum loqui'; and he thinks the speaker is Penelope. That the speaker is not Penelope is proved by the tense of *fuisse*.

610. Non. p. 497 'accusatiuus uel nominatiuus pro ablatiuo ... Lucilius lib. xxvi

haec tu si uoles per auris pectus inrigarier.'

'*inrigarier* posuit pro *imbui* sicut Petron. 4 "ut studiosi iuuenes lectione seuera irrigarentur" ... accusatiuus *haec* ut Sall. Cat. 45 i "cuncta edoctus", Tacit. hist. v 5 "nec quicquam prius imbuuntur quam contemnere deos"' Marx. That no doubt is how Nonius understood the construction, but we ought to know better: the examples cited do not defend it. *haec pectus inrigarier* means *haec rigarier in pectus*, as we have *gladium incumbat* at 601 and *quae res me impendet* at 1227; *rigari* is used as in Lucr. ii 262 'motus per membra rigantur'.

735 (Non. p. 253).

at metuis porro ne aspectu et forma capiare altera.

That is of course 'altero aspectu (= facie) et altera forma'. Mr Marx says '*altera* si recte traditum est, ex praecedenti sermone olim potuit intellegi: supplendum esse dicas ueluti *die*'; and again at 447 (Non. p. 151) 'cui parilem fortuna locum fatumque tulit fors' (i.e. parile fatum) he says 'melius erit *fatum* habere pro genetiwo plurali'.

1024 sq. (Non. p. 327).

inprobior multo quam de quo diximus ante :
quanto blandior haec, tanto uehementius mordet.

Will it be believed that Mr Marx takes *haec* for an acc. neut. plur. and supplies 'dicit'?

1239 sq. (Cic. de fin. ii 24).

cenasti in uita numquam bene, cum omnia in ista
consumis squilla atque acupensere cum decumano.

'omnia in ista (uita) consumis squilla atque acupensere cum decumano. praepositionem *cum* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ postposuit ut lib. x u. 390'. *praepositionem*! so Gallonius guttles in company with the lobster and the sturgeon, tres uno in lecto, like the Hatter taking tea with the March Hare and the Dormouse.

1347. Fest. p. 209, Paul. p. 208, 'petimina in umeris iumentorum ulcera et uulgo appellant et Lucilius meminit, quom ait

ut petimen naso aut lumbos ceruicibus tangat.'

'turpi forma ecus uidetur describi qui naso pectoris imam partem, ceruice lumbos tangat' Marx; as if 'umeri' were 'pectoris ima pars'. And how does this acrobatic steed contrive to make his two ends meet? listen and you shall hear. 'optimus est qui auctore Columella vi 29 2 erit "ceruice molli, lataque nec longa", at hic tangit lumbos ceruicibus ut ridicula sit breuitate et contractione corporis'. I make no comment. The verse seems to describe a horseman pitched forward and backward by his jolting nag, now with his nose on its shoulders, now with the nape of his neck on its crupper. Anyone who cared for such amusements might assign it to book iv and join it with 163 (Non. pp. 16 and 86) and 1109 (Fest. p. 313),

ut petimen naso aut lumbos ceruicibus tangat
succussatoris, taetri tardique caballi
Apulidae, pedibus stlembi.

These are all of them places where the sense is clear enough, and yet Mr Marx has missed it. When he has to deal with places where the sense is obscure, his attempts at explanation are often amazing indeed. Sometimes they are downright unintelligible: his note on 356 (Non. p. 503) 'feruere, ne longum. uero :

hoc lectoribus tradam' (for so he prints the verse) I have read three times through with strained attention and I cannot even conjecture what it means or how it coheres with itself. For the dialogue which he devises out of 473 (Non. p. 220) and 474 sq. (Non. p. 185) the only appropriate title would be 'conversation overheard in Bedlam'. Scipio comes upon a soldier eating a good meal, and asks where he got it. The soldier, instead of replying, grumbles about something else. He receives no reprimand for his impertinence: the commander in chief lets his first question go unanswered and meekly asks another. The soldier, encouraged by impunity, treats the second question as he treated the first. And here the curtain falls on this instructive glimpse of Roman military discipline. But, for a compendious specimen of the goods which Mr Marx sometimes offers for sale under the name of explanations, take 1104 (Non. p. 231) 'Andronius Flacci teget utria': 'Andronius Flacci homo seruus uel libertinus *utria*, i.e. ἀσκούς uidetur dicere homines ebriosos *teget*, sandapila elatos homines terra obteget, Andronius libitinam uidetur exercuisse apud homines infimi ordinis et pauperrimos'.

And now, in the perilous field I spoke of, in those many places where the question arises whether the text is right or wrong, how is this editor to answer it? He cannot; he lacks the requisite knowledge. He misapprehends what Romans have said, and he misconceives the Roman way of saying things: that he should decide whether Lucilius could and would have written what the MSS impute to him is therefore impossible, and that he should offer to decide it is presumptuous. And then, to make matters worse, in the midst of his difficulties and disabilities, he is assailed by temptation.

In Germany at the present moment, as everyone knows, an editor who wishes to be praised (unless, like one or two influential persons, he has a troop of retainers who will applaud whatever he does) must be a conservative editor; that is to say, he must defend the MS tradition not only where it appears to be right but also where it appears to be wrong. Some credit, it is true, may be drawn from the mere pronunciation of shibboleths; and Mr Marx, by speaking ill of Mueller and Baehrens and by calling Mr Buecheler 'criticorum facile princeps', has secured at the outset a favourable hearing from a large audience in more lands than one. But this lip-service, though good so far as it goes, is not sufficient: an editor is expected to prove the sanity of his judgment and the orthodoxy of his opinions by defending at least a dozen MS readings which no former editor has thought defensible; and to this requirement Mr Marx, for want of the knowledge which might have let and hindered him, is quite ready to accede. It is true, as we have seen already, that he does not conserve the text very rigorously against his own conjectures; but he is willing enough to practise the conservative method in its easiest, commonest, and most agreeable form, by preferring the tradition of the MSS to the conjectures of other people. To attract the public whom he seeks to please he has posted this notice on the first page of his second volume:

in interpretatione eam legem sumus secuti, ut uerba salua et sana esse statueremus, si numeri uersuum erant salui. nempe raro uerba corrumpi posse arbitramur saluis numeris. quae ratio inprimis ualuit in uersibus 1138-1142 constituendis.

If Mr Marx had cared to know what this rule was worth, he had three ways of finding out. He might have thought about it, and then he would have discovered that it was absurd in essence: there is no imaginable reason why the corruption of a word should upset the metre of a verse. He might have put it to the test, and then he would have discovered that it was false in fact: Nonius p. 120 quotes from Horace (serm. ii 4 73) 'ego faecem primus et allec | miscui', which is quite metrical (for cretic words occur in Horace's hexameters) but very far removed from what Horace wrote. He might have read his own edition of Lucilius, and then he would have discovered that he had broken his precious rule about once in every ten lines: 401 *scalprorum* for *scalptorum*, 408 *sternendam* for *sternenda*, 420 *dare* for *da*, 429 *fisco* for *pisco*, 434 *decolauit* for *decollauit*, 443 *extracta* for *extractam*, 451 *quorsum* for *cursum*, 454 *aula mollis* for *ala molis*, 472 *horae* for *hora et*, 474 *aegre* for *aegri*, 489 *fictorum* for *pictorum*, 491 *aetati* for *aetate*, 494 *pus* for *plus*, and so on. Three ways, and he took none of them. Why should he? Why should a classical scholar care what he says, so long as everyone knows that his heart is in the right place? In no single line of human activity except our own,—not in politics, not in religion, not in the advertisement of patent medicines,—would a man venture to stand forward and utter words so evidently irreconcilable with reason, with reality, and with his own behaviour. But Mr Marx knew well that he had nothing to fear. He knew that he was addressing an audience less thoughtful, less truth-loving, and less able to take care of itself, than the audiences addressed by demagogues and dervishes and quacks. He looked round Europe and saw a ring of classical scholars sitting waiting to have their prejudices flattered and their intellects affronted, and he obliged them. Up rises Mr Stowasser and returns thanks for the company: 'ein gewiss durchaus anerkennenswerter und unwiderleglicher Grundsatz!' And when Mr Marx says 'quae ratio inprimis ualuit in uersibus 1138-1142 constituendis', there too Mr Stowasser is with him: 'wie Marx zu erklären versteht, dafür sei nur auf ein Beispiel hingewiesen, nämlich 1138, wo ein grenzenlos misshandeltes Versviergespann durch den einfachen Trik gelöst wird, *dicto* als Verb (nicht als Hauptwort) zu fassen'. Hast thou appealed unto 1138? unto 1138 shalt thou go.

Fest. p. 294 21 'scurrae uocabulum Verrius . . . aut ex Graeco tractum ait . . . aut a sequendo, cui magis adsentitur, quod et tenuioris fortunae homines et ceteri alioqui, qui honoris gratia persequerentur quempiam, non antecedere sed sequi sint soliti; quia uidelicet dicat Lucilius "Cornelius P. noster Scipiadas dicto tempus quae intorquet in ipsum oti et delicis luci effectae atque cinaedo et sectatori adeo ipsi suo quo rectius dicas ibat forte domum sequimur multi atque frequentes", cum secutos uideri uelit ob eorum iurgia, non ob adsuetum officium'. Lachmann said of these verses that they are 'tam foede corrupti ut de uerbis desperandum

sit', but a greater than Lachmann is here¹: Mr Marx, adopting only the metrical corrections *deliciis* and *ipse* (I wonder that Mr Stowasser can bear to part with *ipsi*), presents the passage thus:

Cornelius Publius noster
Scipiadas dicto tempus quae intorquet in ipsum
oti et deliciis, luci effictae atque cinaedo, et
sectatori adeo ipse suo, quo rectius dicas.
ibat forte domum. sequimur multi atque frequentes.

'ego interpretor hoc modo: "<si quaeris, quid agam>: ego Lucilius dicto (*dictabat uersus* Lucilius teste Horatio serm. i 4 10) ea quae Cornelius noster Scipio tempus in ipsum oti intorquet et deliciis suis, luci suae [*effictae* he dare not paraphrase, it is too intolerably absurd], atque adeo (quo uocabulo rectius dicas) cinaedo ipse suo et sectatori".'

I hardly know where to begin; but first let us take the construction. In spite of his punctuation he construes 'atque cinaedo et sectatori adeo' as 'atque adeo cinaedo et sectatori'; and to prevent any mistake about the matter he adds '*atque adeo* positum ut Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 29 "hoc consilio atque adeo hac amentia impulsus"'. Read twenty lines further and you find that he has changed his mind: 'datiui in membra duo dispartiti sunt, utrique *et* praeponitur membro: in priore membro asyndeton exhibuit et *atque* particulam': the first clause therefore is 'et deliciis, luci effictae atque cinaedo', the second is 'et sectatori adeo suo', and *atque* and *adeo* have nothing to do with one another. You recognise that care and deliberation on which conservative critics are wont to pride themselves.

Now for the sense, and especially *luci effictae*. '*mea lux, mea uita . . . tritas cottidiani sermonis blanditias omnes norunt . . . luci suae igitur dictum ut lux mea* Catull. 68 132 . . . *effictae* mutare ausus non sum: uidetur dicere hominem nitidum lautum *tersum* Lucilius, sicuti Cato de agri cult. 67 2 "fiscinas spongia effingat", Cic. pro Sest. 77 "e foro spongiis effingi sanguinem"'. Even so. Caesar is called *sidus* in Lucan and *caluus* in Suetonius, therefore Mr Marx, if the fancy takes him, will call him *caluum sidus*. The whole sentence may be Englished as follows: 'I am dictating the words which our friend P. Cornelius Scipio launches, for the exact time of leisure (whatever that may mean), both at his darling, the well-wiped light of his eyes and his minion, and moreover at his own retainer, by which (name) you would more correctly call him'.

It was not I who chose this specimen, it was Mr Marx himself. It is not I who say 'wie Marx zu erklären versteht, dafür sei nur auf ein Beispiel hingewiesen, nämlich 1138'; it is his friend and admirer Mr Stowasser. I only ask this: when a scholar conceives such interpretations to be even possible, can he be said to have an inkling of what is possible and what is not? The unfamiliarity with Roman

¹ Arch. f. Lat. lex. xiv p. 445 'wir besitzen nun die vor einem halben Jahrhundert von Lachmann erwartete Luciliusausgabe mit erklärenden Noten,

wie wir sie, namentlich was die Beziehung der griechischen Literatur betrifft, von Lachmann kaum hätten erwarten dürfen'.

manners and the Roman mind which believes that Scipio railed in the public street at a fellow of this sort, and that Lucilius employed these terms to describe a favourite of his friend Scipio's, is less extraordinary than the unfamiliarity with human speech which believes that such discourse as this has ever proceeded out of the mouth of man.

This passage, to be sure, is one which nobody has succeeded in emending, and Mr Marx, if he had not vaunted his performance, might almost have had it forgiven him as a counsel of despair. Come now to passages where not only is correction necessary but corrections have been proposed which, so far as anything in Lucilius can be, are certain; and see how Mr Marx's claim to the title of conservative, somewhat jeopardised by the great number and extreme uncertainty of his own conjectures, is made good by the stoutness with which he upholds the most evident corruptions of the MSS against the clearest emendations of better critics.

601. Non. p. 502 'accusatiuus pro datiuo. Lucilius lib. xxvi
suspendatne se an in gladium incumbat, ne caelum bibat.'

'uersum corruptum non esse testatur numerorum ordo incorruptus' says Mr Marx. Versum corruptum esse testatur Nonius: it contains no 'accusatiuus pro datiuo'. To this cardinal fact, the first that a critic should fix on, he never so much as alludes: what he wants is not the true reading but the MS reading. Koch and Quicherat proposed, and Mr Marx suppresses,

suspendatne se<se> an [in] gladium incumbat, ne caelum bibat.

The construction *gladium incumbat* for *gladio*, on which Nonius comments, perplexed the scribe, who added *in* to help it out.

110 sq. (Gell. xvi 9 6).

uerum haec ludus ibi, susque omnia deque, fuerunt,
susque *et* (*haec* F. Dousa) deque fuere, inquam, omnia, ludus iocusque.

haec is corrupted to *et* in scores of places, and this is one of them. '*susque deque*' says Mr Marx 'asyndeton est ut ἄνω κάτω neque eodem modo accipiendum quo *populusque patresque*: qua in locutione *que* idem est atque *que* illud in *quisque uterque absque*, ita ut Lucilius potuerit scribere *susque et deque*,'—and he quotes *et hodieque* from Pliny. You would think that 111 alone had been preserved and 110 had perished; yet it is not so: it is only that Mr Marx, in discussing 111, dare not raise his eyes to 110, for fear he should begin to think about probability and so be led into the way of truth.

397 (Non. p. 181).

huc ubi concessum, pellesque ut in ordine tentae,

wrote Mueller. Mr Marx retains the *hic* of the MSS:

hic, ubi concessum, pellesque ut in ordine tentae,

'*ubi concessum* i.e. ubi milites in unum locum coacti'. You expect examples of

concedere = *in unum locum concedere* : you are presented instead with Livy's 'concedere in hiberna' and 'in hiberna concesserant', parallel, not to the *concessum* which Mr Marx commends, but to the *huc concessum* which he rejects.

If one were asked for samples of corrections which are everything that a correction ought to be, gentle, salutary, self-evident, indispensable, one might instance Iunius' *placeat* for *placent* at 207 (Non. p. 133), Bergk's *uirique* for *utrique* at 1119 (schol. Iuu. iii 143), Lachmann's *ualeant* for *ualeat* at 338 (Non. p. 428) and his addition of 731 (Non. p. 407) to 701 (Non. p. 362) with *chresin* for *certe sine* in the former. Mr Marx rejects them all, *placeat* he even suppresses, and between 701 and 731 he interposes thirty verses, simply in order to put asunder what Lachmann has joined ; and to read his notes,—if you did not remember how easily he accepts his own conjectures and how little they deserve to be accepted,—you would suppose him to hold that any defence is better than any emendation.

Sometimes he vouchsafes no defence at all. 352–5 (G.L.K. vii p. 18).

aa primum longa, a brevis syllaba. nos tamen unum
hoc faciemus, et uno eodemque, ut dicimus, pacto
scribemus 'pacem placide Ianum aridum acetum', 354
*Apes *Apes Graeci ut faciunt.

Anyone who stops to think will wonder a little at the choice of instances in 354. Why five of them, an odd number, when the Greek instances are two? Why one adverb amongst four accusative nouns? Why this capricious sequence of quantities, *ā ā ā ā ā*? Mr Marx does not answer these questions, he does not even ask them, but he is a trifle afraid that the reader may ask them ; so he and the compositor between them attempt to strike us blind and dumb with this luxuriant efflorescence of typography :

scribemus 'pacem : placide ; Ianum, aridum : acetum,'

to which I can only add ?!. Now this is not the sole place in Latin literature where placidity and Ianus are rather unexpectedly associated.

qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fului Rutubaeque
aut *placide Iani* contento poplite miror
proelia rubrica picta aut carbone ?

That is Hor. serm. ii 7 97 as exhibited by more than half of Horace's best and oldest MSS. Baehrens corrected Lucilius accordingly :

scribemus 'pācem *Pācideianum*, āridum ācetum,'
*Apes *Apes Graeci ut faciunt.

Lucilius is considering the initial syllables, in the Latin words as in the Greek ; so the penultimate of *Pacideianum* is left out of account. Mr Marx not only refuses the correction but ignores it. A good emendation, in these days, means an emendation which has been proposed by a *persona grata* ; and Mr Marx feels sure that most of his readers will regard this conjecture as sufficiently condemned by its authorship. Baehrens has attained the proud position, which he is far indeed

from having deserved, of being as much hated by the Germans as Scaliger is hated by the French or Bentley by the English.

But the most arresting feature in Mr Marx's edition is neither the resolution with which he defends Lucilius' fragments against other folk's alterations, nor the faintheartedness with which he surrenders them to his own, but the facility, the confidence, and the boundless knowledge with which he explains their relation to one another and to their lost and unforthcoming context. For interpreting those words and sentences which we possess in black and white, his aptitude, as we have already seen, is not remarkable; but in the invisible world he is quite at home. Apion, unless he was the liar Iosephus thought him, called up the spirit of Homer from the dead, and ascertained from his own melodious lips the true city and parentage of that widely born and many-fathered man. But the information thus elicited he kept secret in the deep of his heart, and the world was none the wiser. Mr Marx, like Apion, is an adept in the black art, but he is not, like Apion, a dog in the manger. He is brimful of knowledge which he can only have acquired by necromancy, and he puts it all at our disposal. Nonius on p. 363 quotes from book xii this fragment (435), 'hunc iuga mulorum protelo ducere centum | non possent', which seems to be imitated from what Homer Od. ix 241 sq. says about the door-stone of the Cyclops' cave, οὐκ ἂν τὸν γε δύο καὶ εἴκοσ' ἄμαξαι | ἐσθλαὶ τεσσαράκκυκλοι ἀπ' οὐδεὸς ὀχλίσσειαν; and he also quotes from book vi this similar fragment (247 sq.), 'quem neque Lucanis oriundi montibus tauri | ducere protelo ualidis ceruicibus possent'. You might fancy that this meant something of a like sort, but Mr Marx knows better. Book vi happens to contain four verses about a man who kept all his worldly wealth in a *bulga*, which he carried on his person to board and bed and bath: therefore this fragment signifies 'neque tauri Lucani neque Gallici cantherii ducenti hominem abducere possunt a bulga sua'. 284 (Non. p. 169) 'si mouet ac simat nares, delphinus ut olim': 'agitur de homine amore perduto, qui ἀσθμαίνει in re Venerea (Lucian. dial. meretr. v 4), qui multum suspirat et anima crebra nares mouet et diducit ut equa pruriens'. Which of us by taking thought could have found out this, or surmised that Lucilius meant *equa pruriens* when he said *delphinus*? 514 (Non. p. 22) 'te primum cum istis insanum hominem et cerebrosum': 'supplendum "di perdant omnes": increpat Lucilius uilicum insanum et cerebrosum, cum istis i.e. cum mediastrino atque bubulco qui equo illo male erant usu': all this because elsewhere in the same book a uilicus and mediastrinus and bubulcus are bitten by something, possibly a horse. 550 (Non. p. 362) 'cetera contemnit et in usura omnia ponit | non magna: proprium uero nil neminem habere': guess who is spoken of. A Stoic and plagiary, says Mr Marx: a plagiary, because this book xvii contains the fragment 'si messes facis . . . Musas si uendis Lauernae'; a Stoic, apparently because kindred sentiments are enounced by those pillars of the Porch, Lucretius and Horace. 879 (Non. p. 294) 'certum scio | esse ita ut dicis; nam mihi erant de illo explorata omnia': 'alloquitur dominus delatorem qui cum dubitatione referat de fraudibus dispensatoris: uera de eo referri dicit dominus, qui

furem illum esse dudum cognouerit': the words of the text contain no clue to the speaker, the person addressed, or the subject of conversation; yet Mr Marx identifies all three. 300 sq. (Non. p. 427) 'gallinaceus cum uictor se gallus honeste | altius in digitos primoresque erigit unguis': 'agitur de muliere quae superba incedit gallo uictori similis'. Evidently; and the scene described in Dem. *κατὰ Κόν.* 9 proves that Conon was a woman dressed up as a man, a point of which Demosthenes could have made a good deal if Mr Marx had been at hand to enlighten him. 899 (Non. p. 357) 'deum rex auertat uerba obscena': again does Mr Marx divine the speaker's sex, 'mulier loquitur, cui conuicia intorquet nescioquis'. Tell us more: was she tall or short? young or old? maid, wife, or widow? And why the incongruous modesty of 'nescioquis' in designating the assailant? why not say that it was a negro boy? At 1097 (Non. p. 343) 'est illud quoque mite malum, blandum atque dolosum' Mr Marx discovers yet a third Lady Teazle behind the screen: 'agitur de mulieris ingenio'. That settles the question; else we might have thought that some vice of the human mind was referred to, such as Horace's 'improba Siren desidia'. Mr Marx should write a novel. Nay, he may almost be said to have written one; for his notes on book iii (Lucilius' journey to Sicily) are not so much a commentary on the surviving fragments as an original narrative of travel and adventure.

'Audacia' is the chief crime which Mr Marx (i p. cxv) imputes to Mueller; to Mueller, who on p. xliii of his preface has these sober observations, 'fragmentis explicandis uel copulandis nihil facilius esse, si uulgi plausum spectes, neque difficilius quidquam, si peritorum, pridem sanxit auctoritas prudentium'. But when Mr Marx and his school talk about 'audacia' they do not mean audacity, they mean alteration of the text; and they would be surprised to hear that the fabrication of imaginary contexts has any audacity about it. Just as murder is murder no longer if perpetrated by white men on black men or by patriots on kings; just as immorality exists in the relations of the sexes and nowhere else throughout the whole field of human conduct; so a conjecture is audacious when it is based on the letters preserved in a MS, and ceases to be audacious, ceases even to be called a conjecture, when, like these conjectural supplements of Mr Marx's, it is based on nothing at all. No editor of these fragments, neither Mueller nor Bachrens, has been so rash and venturesome as Mr Marx; none has such cause to wish that the earth may lie heavy on Herculaneum and that no roll of Lucilius may ever emerge into the light of day.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

(*To be continued.*)

ON SOME PASSAGES IN LUCAN VIII.

1. Vv. 83-85

tu nulla tulisti
bello damna meo : uiuit post proelia Magnus,
sed fortuna perit : quod defles, illud amasti. 85

These lines conclude the speech of Pompey to Cornelia when she met him on the shore of Lesbos after the disaster of Pharsalia. This speech Mr. Heitland in his excellent Introduction to Haskins' Lucan has stigmatised as 'abominable.'¹ So far as the bulk of the speech is concerned a plea may perhaps be urged in mitigation of this judgment. Cornelia has completely broken down at the sight of her unfortunate husband, and his first object should be to restore her to herself. For this purpose, as all, not excluding Lucan, know, a tone of sharp chiding would be most effectual, and we learn from the sequel that it succeeded : 'uocibus his correpta uiri uix aegra leuauit | membra solo' (86 sq.). For the crude brutality of the statement in the last four words there is however no excuse. But happily it is not to be charged to Pompey or to Lucan, but to the editions. We should punctuate :

quod defles, illud amasti ?

2. Vv. 155 sqq.

tanto deuinxit amore
hos pudor hos probitas castique modestia uoltus
quod submissa nimis nulli grauis hospita turbae
stantis adhuc fati uixit quasi coniuge uicto.

The difficulties of this passage are well known. To remove one of them Heinsius proposed, and Hosius, Francken and Mr. Heitland have accepted, the change of *animis* for *nimis*. But this leaves *nulli grauis turbae* without explanation. For Francken properly demurs to Haskins' interpretation : "a burdensome guest to none of the citizens," *nulli turbae* is equivalent to *nemini*. The same scholar correctly states the general sense 'notum est uxorem et familiam praesidis subinde provinciae satis graves fuisse,' though we cannot accept his inference 'inde corrigendum uidetur TERRAE.' The mischief has arisen from a misunderstanding of the construction of *grauis*, which is not a nominative but a genitive (of description) agreeing with *turbae* and qualified by *nimis* 'a humble visitor with a retinue

¹ P. lxiv, n. 14. Compare p. lxx 'In worse taste are viii. 72-85 [Pompey upbraiding his wife].'

overburdening none.' This rids us of the awkward asyndeton after *submissa*. In the following line again a genitive has caused some trouble which Francken proposed to remove by reading 'stantis adhuc <uxor> uixit.' But i. 98 'temporis angusti mansit concordia discors,' an apparently unnoted parallel, shows a genitive similarly detached.

3. Vv. 192 *sqq.*

	sic fatur. at ille	
iusto uela modo pendentia cornibus aquis		
torsit et in laeuum puppim dedit, utque secaret		
quas Asinae cautes et quas Chios asperat undas,	195	
hos dedit in proram, tenet hos in puppe rudentis.		
aequora senserunt motus, aliterque secante		
iam pelagus rostro nec idem spectante carina		
mutauere sonum. non sic moderator equorum,		
dexteriore rota laeuum cum circumit axem,	200	
cogit inoffensae currus accedere metae.		

Pompey has now left Mytilene and, as is clear from 159 *sqq.*, has been some time at sea. The night is fine, and the wind fair astern (193). To divert his thoughts he has a chat with the skipper upon navigation, when presently the latter (185) desires his instructions for their future course. A point then has been reached at which such instructions are required. This, as a glance at a map will show, is a little to the N.E. of Chios, which is mentioned by name in 195. To his inquiry Pompey replies: 'Do not make for Macedonia (N.W.) or Italy (S.W.). For the rest I do not care.' In obedience to these somewhat vague directions the master alters the vessel's course, turning sharply to the left. This action is compared to that of the charioteer who sweeps round a turning-post, with his right wheel circling round the almost stationary pivot of his left. The current of rippling water which was previously plashing past the vessel's sides now falls upon it broadside, and the waves 'change their sound.'

With the situation thus clear, let us consider in succession the different readings of manuscripts and editors in v. 195. The MSS. have *Asinae* or *Sasinae*. The only *Asine*'s known to us are towns in the Peloponnese, in Cyprus, and in Cilicia, none of them of much use for defining a position off the N.W. coast of Asia Minor. *Sasina* is unknown; and its *s* may have come from the final of the preceding 'quas.'

Micyllus proposed *Asiae*, against which Francken very rightly urged that it is much too vague for the purpose, 'quo cursus non definitur cum sit lata et immensa; unus locus significatur; ostendit vocabulum *cautes*.' There is another objection. To have any meaning here at all, it must mean that the skipper took a course to the east of the Oenussae islets, between them and the coast of Asia, which would be out of his way for every place in the world except the town of Erythrae.

Psyriae is another correction. *Psyra* is a small island off the N.W. corner of Chios; and we may well ask what this mariner was doing to take his vessel out there before he had obtained his employer's instructions.

Yet another conjecture is *Samiae*, of which I regret that Francken speaks approvingly. Samos was over seventy miles away, and there were some forty miles of open sea between it and the southernmost point of Chios. Was this stretch of Neptune's realm chafed by the cliffs of rocky Samos? And if not, why is Samos mentioned here as well as in its proper place below? (v. 246)

I have examined these proposals in detail not because they are intrinsically worth it, but because they illustrate only too clearly the spirit in which the ancient writers are so often approached. Lucan, it is unconsciously argued, is a careless writer. Therefore it is fit that he should be carelessly emended and interpreted. But whatever may be the behaviour of Lucan in certain other passages, in the present sketch of Pompey's voyage he is writing with ample care and knowledge. Those who follow his narrative (in particular 243 *sqq.*) cannot fail to be struck by its minuteness and accuracy.

To return. The master of Pompey's vessel approaching Chios from the east took a sudden turn to the left, that is to the south. He must then have left Chios to the right and passed either to landward or to seaward of the Oenussae islets. The Latin agrees best with the supposition that he threaded the narrow passage between the cliffs of Chios and the islets; and this route with its natural double shelter would commend itself to an ancient navigator.

This way then should emendation go; and until something better be proposed, I suggest that, to satisfy the plain requirements of the sense, we may read

O e n u s a e cautes et quas Chios asperat undas.

This will perhaps be thought a violent alteration. It is not so violent as it looks. *Enusae* was an easy corruption of *Oenusae* (I take the form and spelling from Pliny *N.H.* 5. 137¹) and *enusae* is not far off the letters of *asinae*. It is not necessary to assume any geographical intention on the part of the corrupter: it is enough if he knew the Roman name for the she of a domestic animal. But what of the *quas* which precedes it? This *quas* is, I conjecture, the chief offender. The post-position of the relative 'undas quas Oenusae cautes at Chios asperat' though classical enough would present difficulty to a scribe. To simplify the syntax, and perhaps to cure the metre, a second *quas* was prefixed to the sentence and the verse.

Another explanation of our text is however possible. There were also Oenussae islands to the S. of Messenia, not far to the West of the promontory Acritas, while just inside the gulf on the East lay an Asine, from which this received the name of Κόλπος 'Ασιναιῶς. These Oenussae are mentioned by Pliny *N.H.* 4. 55, and it is a singular circumstance that the very next words to 'Oenussae,' though of course in a different sentence are 'in Asinaeo sinu.' The error

¹ It is easy to account for the singular as one of the islets is much larger than the rest.

need not then have been purely and simply some copyist's mistake. It may have been engendered by a confusion of the two Oenussae groups and a false association with Asine.¹

4. Vv. 306-10

o utinam non tanta mihi fiducia saeuis
esset in Arsacidis ! fatis nimis aemula nostris
fata mouent Medos multumque in gente deorum est.
effundam populos alia tellure reuolsos
excitosque suis inmittam sedibus ortus.

These are five lines from the speech in which Pompey unfolds his policy for the reconstitution of his fortunes. He must secure an ally. Three alliances are possible, with Juba, with Egypt, and with Parthia ; and on the respective merits of these he asks the assembled notables to decide.

uos pendite regna
uiribus atque fide Libyam Parthosque Pharonque
quemnam Romanis deceat succurrere rebus (276 *sqq.*).

The Egyptian alliance is briefly rejected in 281-2 : the Moorish in 283-8. There remains the Parthian. For this the speaker argues, setting forth in picturesque language the power and military genius of Parthia. But not without misgivings. The reverse of Varus at the hands of Juba had just been used as an argument against trusting that prince with Roman fortunes and the same argument applied with still greater force to a similar trust in the Parthian monarch. He, as is confessed in v. 308, was, like Juba, a rival of Rome and a more dangerous one.

The words that begin the extract must mean, as Haskins has translated them, 'Would I did not repose such confidence in the cruel Arsacidae.' Compare for the expression Virgil's '*tantane uos tenuit generis fiducia uestri?*' *Aen.* i. 132. Now a man in perplexity might intelligibly say 'Would that I did not distrust the alternative alliances ; so much do I feel the hazard of this one.' But where, except in burlesque, would he say 'O that I did not feel such an overmastering confidence in the alliance of my choice!' Judge Ridley saw this, and his translation thus crushed the Latin into sense :

Would that my lot
Forced me not thus to trust that savage race
Of Arsaces.

The truth is the line is corrupt ; but no one seems to have suspected it except Bentley, and he attacked the wrong word, proposing *rerum* for *saeuis*.

We should make the slight change of *tota* for *tanta*. 'Would that I had not

¹ To save the credit of the MSS, it will no doubt be said that the mistake is Lucan's. The possibility of this cannot be denied : its improbability has already been exposed.

to place my *whole* confidence in the Arsacids.' Cf. 388 'nulla manus illis, fiducia tota ueneni est.'

I proceed to 309 *sq.* As already said, Pompey's present mood is one of apprehension. He fears that it may be rash to put himself into the hands of Parthia. This is the thought in 308 and it is the thought in 311 'quod si nos Eoa fides et barbara fallent | foedera' e. q. s. But in the two intervening lines we are jerked on to an entirely different one—viz. his intention of rousing the nations of another world (*alia tellure* as *alio orbe* in 315) and thence launching an army on his foe. Whether the lines are the handiwork of Lucan or of an interpolator, as Kortte supposed, they are not in the place intended for them, which must have been after 288. The bond of connexion is obviously this: 'Africa and Egypt are out of the question. I must try another world, that is the Furthest East.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

GARROD'S *THEBAID* AND *ACHILLEID* OF STATIUS.

P. Papini Stati Thebais et Achilleis recognovit brevis adnotatione critica instruxit H. W. GARROD collegii Mertonensis socius. E Typographeo Clarendoniano Oxonii. [1906.] Crown 8vo. Pp. xii + (rest unpagged) 396. 5s. paper, 6s. cloth.

THE *Thebais* of Statius was held in great esteem in the Middle Ages, and is referred to in terms of high praise by Dante and Chaucer. During the past century it has earned the fate of all works whose chief claim to distinction lies in their perfection of form. The words with which the last editor begins his preface do not fall short of the truth: 'Codicum Thebaidos tanta est multitudo ut iure suspiceris plurius per mediam aetatem librariorum quam per nostram lectores Statius contigisse.' The paucity of readers cannot be laid to the charge of the editors, for each of the past three decades has seen the appearance of a critical edition. Otto Müller brought out a critical edition of the first half of the poem in 1870, the completion of which was interrupted by his death; and the edition of P. Kohlmann (1884) was followed in 1900 by the edition of Dr. A. S. Wilkins in Postgate's *Corpus*. All of these editions marked an advance on the haphazard methods of the earlier editors.

The edition for the Oxford Series of Classical Texts has been prepared by Mr. Garrod, whose papers in the *Journal of Philology* and in the *Classical Review* have shown him to be an independent student of the Latin poets. Thanks are due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking what is hardly likely to be a remunerative work, and those who have the study of Latin literature at heart ought to welcome a recruit to the ranks of such students in an age when most of our younger scholars seem to put their strength into Greek.

The text is based upon the following manuscripts: P (Puteaneus) of the late ninth century, B (Bambergensis) of the eleventh century, D (Dovoriensis) of the early tenth century, K (Gudianus) of the tenth or eleventh century, N (Philippicus¹) of the tenth or eleventh century, Q (Parisinus) of the tenth century, S (Sangermanensis) of the tenth century, A (codex Vlamingii, now lost, collated by Drakenborch) perhaps of the fifteenth century. Two other manuscripts are also occasionally quoted in the apparatus: a twelfth century

¹ Mr. Garrod wrongly gives 'Philippicus' (pp. ix, xii), and omits the number of the MS.

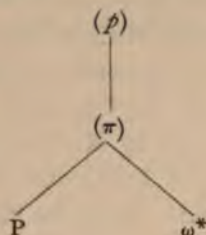
manuscript of Magdalen College, closely related to D, and a fourteenth century manuscript of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

This foundation for the text would appear at first sight to be sufficiently broad, but it is to be feared that Mr. Garrod has trusted too much to the judgment of preceding editors in valuing MSS. as well as to their collations. For instance, the present writer would like to know more of the real character of the Freising MS. 196 (now Munich 6396) of the tenth century. The Freising MSS. have sometimes got insular connexions, and it may be that this MS. has such; yet all we know of it is the collation of the first six books in Müller's edition, which Kohlmann says he has used here and there: Mr. Garrod seems to cite it nowhere. Again, is it quite certain that there is no really old MS. on Italian soil? Mr. Garrod mentions none. Italian MSS., if they are old enough, have a way of being better than any others. It is unfortunate that we are left almost entirely to the tender mercies of French and English MSS.

The positive contributions made by Mr. Garrod to the recovery of the text of the poet consist of the readings of DNQ and A and the emendations which he and various friends have produced. He is the first to use DN and Q, and merits our gratitude for this. It is a pity, however, that he did not do more in the way of minute collation of the principal authorities. Take, for instance, the case of S. He tells us that he had not leisure to examine the readings of this MS., and that he regrets greatly that Kohlmann is so often silent with regard to them. Where Kohlmann is silent he puts S (with a point of interrogation) after the reading which he surmises is given by this MS. Surely such a proceeding is only excusable in the case of a manuscript now lost. Two hours' work would have saved the apparatus from this disfigurement. It is but fair to say that Mr. Garrod is generally right in his surmises, but there are cases where he is wrong. The present list of errors is probably complete: iv. 413 *limite m1* (but *m2*, a contemporary hand which writes above the line, *corr. limine*); 460 *frontes (corr. m2 frondes)*; 704 *natatus (corr. m2 natatos; m3 postea restituit natatus)*; 736 *superest*; 803 *primus (add m1 supra lineam uel primo)*; v. 113 *quod (m2 s.l. uel cui)*; 155 *tum*; 249 *ubi (ex hubi?)*; 395 the addition 'fulmine' above the line is by *m2*; 668 *uittae*; vi. 359 *cantarat*; 851 the reading of *m1* is illegible; *m2* wrote 'curua'; vii. 158 *iaculatus m1, iaculatum m2*; 534 this part of S is torn away; 613 *potuitue*; viii. 457 *heros m1, hemon m2*; ix. 187 *m1* omits the verse, ^{uel no} *m2* adds it and gives *Debilitare*; xi. 633 *gaudiūs (u alt. corr. o)*. A few other readings of S have been noted which either supplement or correct the apparatus: iv. 704 *omnes (m2 s.l. uel annes)*; v. 113 *thalamis* with BKQN; 710 *uoto* with PNK *m1*; vi. 183 *miscet et* with DQN; 409 *fulmina m2* with Q Prag 4; 427 * * *solito*, which was obviously originally *insolito* (with all except P); vii. 613 *num* with BK. Kohlmann's treatment of S makes one suspicious of all his work. It is strange, too, that he never noted the interesting fact that S (as the title on fol. 2 'Statii Opera Liber S. Petri Corbeiensis' shows) and P were once together in the

same library of St. Peter's Abbey at Corbie, near Amiens. This at once accounts for the fact that the second hand of S has frequently copied readings of P in the interlinear spaces of S. The second hand of S has apparently gone over his MS. with P in front of him.

The textual problem in the *Thebais* is of an interesting, but not unparalleled, character. P is by common acknowledgment the best as well as the oldest MS. It not infrequently preserves the right reading where others have lost it. It constitutes a class by itself over against all the other MSS., which constitute a second class. Mr. Garrod's view of the relationship, between his MSS. may be expressed by the following diagram:—



p he regards as a MS. of a date prior to the sixth century, written in capitals,¹ *π* as a minuscule MS. of the eighth century. *π*, according to him, had about thirty lines to the page, had glosses here and there, and frequently had various readings between the lines. *ω**, the ancestor of all our existing MSS. except P, he attributes to the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth; that is, he makes *ω** about a century older than P. He has to suppose that a number of copies have intervened between *ω** and its best existing representatives, in order to account for the corruptions and interpolations they contain. The broad distinction between P and *ω**, as far as it is at present possible to reconstruct the latter, lies not in freedom from transcriptional error on the one side and the presence of it on the other, but in the deliberate substitution of linguistically and metrically possible alternatives by the one or the other. In a word, there has been editing at some stage of the tradition. Mr. Garrod, it would appear, has not really explained how P derived only one set of the alternatives from *π*, and *ω** only the other set, for *π* he supposes to have contained various readings. The difficulty could be got over by supposing that the alternatives were not in *π* to begin with, and that, before they were inserted from some external authority, an intermediate MS., now lost, was copied from *π*, P being afterwards copied from this intermediate MS. Mr. Garrod has followed a suggestion of Prof. Phillimore that the alternatives go back to two editions by the poet himself, and has very acutely observed that in some instances one alternative reading brings the verse into closer agreement with a parallel passage in Virgil. He seems to regard the last fact as excluding the probability of a recension by the poet. But might not the very recension take the form of

¹ So A. Klotz rightly, in the preface to his *Achilleis* (Lips. 1902), pp. xv ff.

bringing lines into nearer conformity with or into greater difference from the words of the great master? Both sets of readings are of very ancient date, and the hypothesis that P represents a second edition by the poet himself is very likely right. The question of the character of P, however, may be reopened profitably when ω^* has been reconstructed by the help of minute collations of all MSS. not later than 1100. A genealogical classification of these is a necessary preliminary to this reconstruction. Mr. Garrod might have given some account of Lactantius, the commentator, in his all too short preface.¹ He has used him occasionally (*e.g.* vi. 921, vii. 314, viii. 437), but without giving the symbols among the 'sigla.'² At the risk of appearing greedy, the present reviewer would also express regret that Mr. Garrod did not supplement Jahnke's edition (Lips. 1898) by collating one or more of the important MSS. of Lactantius which Wilamowitz pointed out that he had neglected.

There are one or two minor points which deserve mention. Mr. Garrod is inclined to regard π and not p , as the 'codex Iuliani V.C.': but does he know any evidence of the use of the official title V.C. as late as the eighth century? Was its meaning even understood in that age? Surely the reference is to p , or to an ancestor of p . A subscription of this kind must be studied in relation to such other subscriptions as the Nicomachean in Livy, the Pauline in Lucan, and the Gennadian in Martial. There is an important proof of the Anglo-Hibernian character of π in i. 474, where P has 'per' and ω^* has 'post.' π undoubtedly contained the Anglo-Hibernian contraction which in Anglo-Hibernian circles meant 'per,' but in Continental circles meant 'post': the scribe of P understood its meaning, but the scribe of ω^* did not. In ii. 135 Lachmann's 'dispulerat' is followed against the MSS. 'impulerat': but this is an instance of a use of *impello* rather characteristic of Lucan, in which the destination of the action is not mentioned. This leads me to remark that it is not enough for the editor of Statius to know his Virgil thoroughly. Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan all went to the making of Statius, and the four form a sort of chain, of which each link depends on those that precede. In i. 130 and elsewhere the obelus will puzzle some: does it not represent a MS. contraction for 'uel'? iv. 803 it was hardly necessary to separate P from the rest; viii. 557 surely 'Cod. Magd.' reads 'atque,' and not 'atqui,' which would require a different contraction; viii. 742 correct Jahnke; xii. 350 had the form 'nacta' any real existence in ancient times? I do not believe it; I should consider it a miswriting of 'nācta,' influenced by the frequency of 'acta' and 'facta.' In ii. 208 keep 'eadem' and put a comma after it, not after 'Ogygias'; iv. 148 keep MSS. 'famaque': the 'que' after the 'non' is in Lucan's manner, and it is a mere accident that 'degenero' is not found with the ablative.

Mr. Garrod is prodigal of emendation. Some of his conjectures only are put in the text. The following is a list of those in the first three books; I have bracketed those not put in the text: i. 72 *miserosque* for *miseraque*; 87 (*me* for

¹ Some will not recognise 'Alcuin' in the other form of the name 'Albinus' (p. vi.).

² I have seen an India paper copy in which the symbols are added.

modo); 331 (*molem* for *montem*); 460 inserts *ut* after *suum*; 659 (*insignique* for *insignemque*); 684 (*cruentos* for *pudentis*); ii. 50 (*Orci aditus* for *Arcadii*); 112 (*culpae* for *uitae*); 117 (*laesurumque fidem* for *ausurumque eadem*); 136 (*uultumque liquenti* for *multumque sequenti*); 251 *innupto in* for *innuptam*; 295 (*fraude* for *laude*); 311 (*agnoscens* for *respiciens*); 418 (*fronte* for *mente*); 556 (*infigens* for *infringens*); 560 (*burisque queant auferre* for *murisque (durisque P) ualent inferre*); 638 *tenui iam* for *etiamnum (et adhuc PN²)*, a harsh and unnecessary alteration; 659 (*mane* for *manent*); 721 (*Aoniae de uertice Itones* for *Aonia deuertis Itone*); iii. 17 (*uenerit* for *uenerat*); 163 *ubi* for *que*, surely quite unnecessary; 231 *tuta* for *cuncta*; 236 (*monstrans* or *narrans* for *portans*); 314 (*bellantem feruere* for *late deferuere*); 316 (*rursus* for *orsus*, a conjecture palpably wrong, *orsus* being equal to *locutus*, as elsewhere); 334 (*despecto pecore at* for *pectore despecto*: this may be right); 362 (*dum capulo nondum haec manus* for *dum capulo nondum manus* of the majority); 379 (*suadeat usque torum* for *auditusque iterum*); 388 *medenti* for *medentia*; 455 (*ora suae Cirrhae* for *orae Cirrhae*); 522 (*tesca* for *astra*); 631 (*animae iam* for *animarum*); 648 (*inde* for *ille*); 710 (*pacem* for *iterum*).¹ It is to be feared that Mr. Garrod has been impatient of the manuscript tradition. Most of his alterations seem uncalled for, and it ought to have made him suspicious of his own knowledge that he has often sought to alter passages that earlier scholars apparently found quite correct.

This volume contains also a new recension of the *Achilleis*. In the editing of this poem Mr. Garrod has had the advantage of Dr. Alfred Klotz's recent edition (Leipzig 1902), which he justly praises. He regards Klotz's C (a Brussels MS. of the eleventh century) as descended from Q (a Paris tenth century MS.) through some corrupt MSS., and excludes it from the apparatus. He rightly lays a high value on the Eton MS. which Klotz, relying on Schenkl's imperfect information, had depreciated. Mr. Garrod's work on the *Achilleis* is relatively perhaps more valuable than his work on the *Thebais*. Both are welcome, and will give, it is to be hoped, a fresh impulse to the study of Silver Latin poetry in English-speaking lands.

ALEX. SOUTER.

¹ Mr. Garrod alters 'gloria' (v. 20) to 'gratia' on the assumption that the contraction for the latter was altered to the contraction for the former. But does

he know any instance of *gloria* contracted before the second half of the eleventh century?

RENKEMA ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Observationes criticae et exegeticae ad C. Valerii Flacci Argonautica scripsit E. H.

RENKEMA, Traiecti ad Rhenum: apud Kemink et filium, MCMVI.

A CAREFUL, scholarly production, dealing with upwards of seventy passages of Valerius. Many of the notes on these are illustrative rather than critical, and shew good sense and intelligent study of the Argonautics. I would call especial attention to those on I 609 *sqq.* (the *turbo* corresponds to the *cusps* with which Vergil's Aeolus opens the cave), 2. 413 (*refugit* simply = *confugit*), 3. 444 *sqq.* (the *effigies* represent the *Minyae*, not the slain Cyzicenes), 5. 211 (*in proram rediit ratis* rightly explained, where Langen went quite astray), 8. 439 *sqq.* (where by careful analysis it is shewn that the condition of the last part of the poem affords no evidence for the view that Val. left it unfinished). Sometimes the text is very successfully defended against emendation: see on 2. 259; 6. 213, 606; 7. 447: a good case is made out too for 5. 246 *sqq.* Dr. Renkema sometimes fails to do justice to his predecessors. The explanation of 3. 225 *sqq.* given on p. 32, paragraph I, is identical with that given by Wagner, developed by me in 'A study of the Argonautica of V.F.' (p. 73), and accepted by Langen in his edition. On 4. 216 we are told that all edd. since Thilo have rejected the MSS. reading *fero*, but Bury very rightly retains it. And on 5. 507 *sqq.* although Bury's name is mentioned, one would hardly guess, I think, that the punctuation proposed by Dr. R. is actually that adopted by Bury, from whom he differs only in retaining *uero* of the MSS.

Of Dr. Renkema's own emendations one may say what one has to say of most collections of the kind: they vary very greatly in merit. There are some very good, perhaps convincing ones: see on 1. 49 (*iamque*), 2. 99 (*foco*), 4. 512 (*ultima*), and add perhaps 1. 149, 563; 2. 454. But a good many are very unnecessary. The redundancy of *manus aciesque Pelasgum* in 3. 126 is not in the least suspicious in Valerius (see *Study etc.* p. 69). In 3. 590 *sqq.* Hercules mad with grief for the loss of Hylas runs amok through the woods: 'Hard fate had beasts or guiltless men on whom he lighted in the wilds.' 'Viri illi ubi quaerendi sunt in deuiis saltibus?' asks the matter of fact critic, and changes *uiris* to *auibus*. The thought suits modern sentiment or the practical mind of a keeper on a grouse-moor better than Valerius' epic ideals. In other cases the impetus of emendation seems to have clouded grammatical insight. The reading proposed for 5. 321 *sqq.* involves taking *quaque uia* to mean *quauis uia*. As for *fas aliquae nequeat tibi femina*, Dr. R.'s

remedy for the old crux at 5. 670, if the reader can construe it by himself I advise him to accept it. But in case he fails, it may be well to transcribe the author's rendering: 'An tibi fas est Iuppiter (uelut sanctam legem apud animum statuisti) ut femina ne aliquae quidem possit (ne minimum quidem efficere ualeat)?' Personally, I doubt the construction of *fas*, the use of the plural *aliquae* where even the singular would have been obscure enough, and the position of *tibi*. The question of order arises also in the emendation of 7. 226: to me an emendation which introduces to us the collocation *quid tu nam* is frankly impossible.

But these are of course extreme cases. Most of the emendations are perfectly free from suspicion on the score of language, and substitute for a difficult expression one that is much less dubious. The refutation of these and of some interpretations of the text would take time, and I must content myself with a selection. **I 524.** The Sun-god is here addressing a heavenly Senate, and is pointing out that the Minyae have no right to make an expedition against Aeetes, who has harmed no Greeks—on the contrary he gave Phrixus the hand of his daughter and so

coniugio uidet e Graia nunc stirpe nepotes
et generos uocat et iunctas sibi sanguine terras.

The last line has been much worried by emenders and in my *Study etc.* p. 71 I proposed to render 'and calls for sons-in-law and invites the lands united in blood to himself (*sc.* to send them).' Dr. R. objects that Phoebus has just explained that he quartered Aeetes in a remote part of the world so that he might live unmolested, and that it would be absurd for him now to say that Aeetes invites Greek immigration. There is much logic in this, but Phoebus is making a speech, and even a god cannot always be logical. Certainly the authors of the extant Roman declamations were not: with them each argument seems to be taken separately and worked up by itself, without much regard for what precedes. And so I think Phoebus in Valerius has two distinct arguments: (1) 'Tis hard that Aeetes who lives out of the turmoil of civilisation should be molested, and (2) He is no foe of Greece. In developing the second, he has rather forgotten the isolation on which he laid stress in the first. Anyhow, it was Phoebus who had disposed Aeetes' habitation: what attitude that king proposed to take towards foreigners was another matter. Dr. R.'s own interpretation is 'And calls (the Greeks) his sons-in-law.' I quite admit the possibility, indeed probability, of a silver poet's using this rhetoric in reference to a person who had only *one* Greek son-in-law. But what about the rest of the line? Aeetes was certainly in a position to 'call (Greece) a land allied in blood to him,' but the mention of so plain and prosaic a fact, the necessary result of the grandchildren being sons of a Greek, after a highly rhetorical statement seems the worst of bathos. **I 779 sqq.** This is one of the worst *cruces* in Val. Dr. R. handles it well, and I believe is right in joining *exorabile retro*, '(a charm) to win back the ghost.' But I strongly doubt if *retro* refers to the return of the evoked ghost to Hades. Seneca is particularly given to using the word in reference to return to life: see H.F. 55 *patefacta ab imis manibus retro*

viast (cp. 280), Tr. 433 *recto peruiumst iter* (cp. 724), Pha. 93 *inui retro lacus*. Nor does Dr. R. mention the difficulty which seems to me most desperate: how can Alcimedea, a heroine and the mother of the hero Jason, be said to have acted *gentis de more nefandae*? Whatever the passage means, whencesoever it may have come to its present position, I feel certain that *Thessalis* means 'a Thessalian witch.' **III 539** *Eoi fercula regni*. Dr. R. says this '*sanam interpretationem non admittit*.' As he gives no reason why he rejects the ordinary rendering 'trays laden with the spoils of the East,' one is driven to conjecture. The word *fercula* does not strike one as very suited to the dignity of epic poetry, but I know at least one passage where it occurs, and that is Stat. Th. 12. 524, a context very similar to ours. If however the genitive is the stumbling block, I can only say that 3. 610 *monstra nouercae* (=a nouerca missa) and 8. 355 *uirginis unda* (=a uirgine concitata) seem as bold. **IV 130** *reges preme, dure, secundos*. Dr. R. refuses to translate this as an apostrophe to Jupiter: 'Oppress, if you will, cruel God, those whose sway is inferior to yours.' His emendation *rex te premit arte secunda* is sufficiently refuted by the explanation: '*arte luctandi diuino fauore secunda*,' but it may be well to give some evidence in support of the other rendering. The realms of Neptune and Pluto continually take the respective epithets of *secundus* and *tertius* in the silver poets, of course in reference to the division of the world between Jupiter and his brothers. Sen. [H.F. 599, Pha. 904, Luc. 5. 622 will illustrate what I mean in the case of Neptune. It is Neptune who is speaking in Valerius, and had the latter written '*regem—secundum*,' I think none could have objected. Cp. the extension of the usage in Luc. 9. 645 where *numen secundum* of course means that Phorcys came next to Neptune in the marine hierarchy. The plural is however perfectly defensible, for (1) silver rhetoric, as we saw above, loves invidious plurals, and (2) *reges secundos* is I think a fair poetic equivalent for '*omnem regem, siue secundum siue tertium siue adhuc inferiorem*.' Cp. further Seneca, Ep. 92. 7 *animalium numero pulcherrimo ac dis secundo*, 90. 28 *secunda numinum forma*.

IV 230

nec pretium sonipes aut sacrae taurus harenae,
praemia sed manes.

Dr. R. will not believe that *sacrae* refers to competitions at Olympia or some similar festival, and takes it as equivalent to *nefandae*. The other use of *sacer* is pretty common (I have noted Ov. [M. 1. 446 *instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos*, Sen. Const. 9. 5 *in certaminibus sacris*, Sil. 14. 54 *sacra corona*, Quintil. 2. 8. 7, 3. 7. 4) and is almost certainly to be assumed here. Val. is thinking of games in Homer and the Epic rather than of the historic festivals with their crowns: in the Nemean games of Statius (*Theb.* 6. 664) a horse is given to one of the victors. **V 618** *Geticis ueniens Gradivus ab antris*. 'Quid sibi uolunt antra illa Getica? Nam Getarum regionem planam ac campestem fuisse nemo ignorat.' Yet Claudian wrote *Procubat horrendus Getico Gradivus in Haemo* (*Prob. et Olybr.* 120) in days when these regions were only too familiar to the Romans. **VII 171** *Tum Venus*

aligerum mater sic fatur Amorum. As the speech which immediately precedes this line is addressed to Venus, Dr. R. objects to her being designated afresh 'tanta uerborum ambage.' But surely we have a very similar state of things in V. 356. At l. 352 Medea *nutricem adfata timore est*: her speech occupies ll. 353-5, and then the nurse's reply is introduced with

audit uirginei custos grandaeva pudoris
Henioche.

These lines seem to me modelled on Homer's τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα, Ἀτρεΐδῃ Μενέλαε διωτρεφὲς ὄρχαμε λαῶν, and the like. The Latin epic refused to take over the whole stock in trade of the Greek, but it had no objection to introducing, occasionally, most of its mannerisms. Ennius was probably much more Homeric than Vergil in this respect: among his fragments I note *respondit Iuno Saturnia, sancta dearum* and *olli respondit rex Albae longae*. It would be in no way surprising to me if Valerius when he penned these lines was under the influence of the archaistic tendency which, although it came to a head much later, certainly existed in Nero's time and must have gained force under such an emperor as Vespasian.

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SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

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Classical Philology. 1906. Vol. 1. No. 1. See *Classical Review*. Vol. 20, pp. 145-59.

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On Correction in Hiatus, Edward Bull Clapp. *On a Fragment of Sappho*, F. Blass. *The Manuscripts of Aristophanes II*, John Williams White. *The ΔINH in Anaximenes and Anaximander*, William Arthur Heidel. *The Form of the Chlamys*, F. B. Tarbell. Notes and Discussions: *An Emendation of Caesar*, Bellum Gallicum vi. 30. 4, Walter Dennison. *The Quotations of Athenagoras and the Text of Euripides*, Evan T. Sage. *Horace A. P. 15 and Proclus on the Plain Style*, Paul Shorey. *The Moods of Indirect Quotation*, J. J. Schlicher. Book Reviews: Gomperz's *Greek Thinkers*, Vols. II, III, Paul Shorey. Marquart's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran*, Carl D. Buck. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Samuel Ball Platner. L. D. Brown's *A Study of the Case Construction of Words of Time*, Tenney Frank. P. H. Edwards's *The Poetic Element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace*, G. W. L. Hendrickson. G. O. Berg's *Metaphor and Comparison in the Dialogues of Plato*, W. A. Heidel. R. C. Flickinger's *Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater*, John Richard. F. Blass's *Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee*, Σ. *Michigan University Studies—Roman Historical Sources and Institutions* (ed. H. A. Sanders), Mary Bradford Peake. G. Thiele's *Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar*, Ed. A. Bechtel.

No. 4.

Menander: a Study of the Chronology of His Life, Walter Eugene Clark. *The Oscan and Umbrian Pumperias*, A. G. Laird. *The Extent of Strabo's Travel in Greece*, Charles Heald Weller. *The Syntax of the Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin*, Arthur L. Wheeler. Aristotle's Νίκαι Διονυσιακά, Alfred Körte. *Notes on the Scholia of Cod. Vat. 886 (Codex Theodosianus)*, E. O. Winstedt. *Cretan Iós*, Carl Darling Buck. Notes and Discussions: *Seneca Epp. Mor. 82, 20*, G. L. Hendrickson. *Dionysius Epist. ad Pompeium 775 R.*, Charles N. Smiley. *The Eituns Inscriptions at Pompeii*, Norman de Witt. *Himerius, Or. i. and Horace A. P. 128*, Paul Shorey. Book Reviews: Vossler's *Sprache als Schöpfung und Entwicklung*, Hanns Oertel. Van Leeuwen's *Ar. Ecclesiazusae*, E. Cary. Olcott's *Dictionary of Latin Inscriptions, I. fasc. 1-5*, Walter Dennison. *Studi italiani di filologia classica, Vol. XII*, W. H. Kirk. Bourguet's *L'Administration financière du sanctuaire pythique au iv^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Edward Capps. Watzinger's *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, F. B. Tarbell. Huelsen's *Das Forum Romanum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler*, Samuel Ball Platner. Traube's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, Bd. I. 1. *Sedulius Scottus* von S. Hellmann, E. K. Rand. H. B. Wright's *The Campaign of Plataea*, W. L. Westermann. Gunnerson's *History of U stems in Greek*, Charles Edward Bishop. Geneva Misener's *The Meaning of γάρ*, L. L. Forman. Svoronos's *Das athenen National Museum*, Caroline L. Ransom. T. M. Jones's *Case Constructions with similis and its Compounds*, Charles E. Bennett. W. S. Ferguson's *The Priests of Asklepius: A New Method of Dating Athenian Archives*, Edward Capps. F. Blass's *Aischylos' Choephoren*, Paul Shorey. Index (3 pages).

Mnemosyne. 34. 4. 1906.

C. Brakman, *Apuleiana*. v. L, *ad Lucianum*. In Deor. Dial. 7. 4 read κόλλοπας; 21. 1 for ὁμοῦ δὲ πῶν τοσοῦτων ὑπερφέρειν read ὁμοῦ δὲ ὄντων τοσοῦτον ὕ.; 22. 4 read ἦν ὤμεν αὐτοὶ for ἰδωμεν ταῦτα. P. H. Damsté, *Trifolium Horatianum*. S. 2. 1. 62 fulgure for frigore; ib. 4. 87-8 illis, quae nisi diuitibus nequeant contingere, omissis (for mensis); Ep. 2. 3. 45 promus sit carminis auctor (for promissi). J. C. Naber, *Observatt. de iure Romano*. 95 Ad legem damnatam. 96 de sacramento denegando. J. Vürtheim, ΕΙCΙΑΙΟΝ-ΕΠΕΙCΙΟΝ, restores the latter word in a Hesychian gloss, interprets Lycoph. Alex. 1385 sqq., where it occurs, and emends Schol. on Ar. Pax 1148 (διέποιον for δι' ἐπιόιον of MSS.). J. van Leeuwen, *Homericæ*. 32 Obs. criticae. I. C. Vollgraff, *Thucydidea* (from vol. 33). Book 7. v. L, ΗC-ΩC. In Od. ω 30 read ὥσπερ ἀνασσεῖ for ἥσπερ ἄ. Other exx. of the confusion. S. A. Naber, *C. G. Cobeti operum conspectus and Addenda et corr. ad Epp. Cobeti*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. 17. 9. 1906.

K. Krumbacher, *Die Photographie im Dienste der Geisteswissenschaften*. With esp. reference to philological and historical studies. Chief methods popularly described, with suggestions as to means of reducing prices. Fifteen plates, mainly illustrating the various modes in which mss. can be copied. E. Bethe (and others), *Vorschläge zur Umgestaltung der Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*. Calls for reports on new discoveries and progress of the various branches of Classical Studies and the cutting down of festivities. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: the last two parts of *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* noticed with appreciation by E. Samter, Burger's translation of Anderson and Spier's *Greek and Roman Architecture* unfavourably reviewed by E. Petersen.

17. 10. 1906.

K. Lincke, *Xenophon und die Stoa*. Zeno of Citium published a collective edition of Xenophon's works, with many interpolations intended to shew connexion between Stoic doctrine and that of Socrates. Hence, e.g., the Stoic Natural Philosophy of Mem. 1. 4, 4. 3. W. Golther, *Das älteste französische Tristangedicht*. A. Thumb, *Zur neugriechischen Sprachfrage*. Against Hatzidakis and the *καθαρεύουσα*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: Benndorf's *Forschungen in Ephesos* noticed by E. Petersen, who discusses at length the question of the ground occupied by the Ionian settlement under Androclus and the character of the harbour of Coressus. K. Lehmann's *Die Angriffe der drei Barkiden auf Italien* reviewed by W. Ruge. 'The most important part, Hannibal's passage [via little St. Bernard], a failure: the remainder of the book valuable.'

Rheinisches Museum. 61. 4. 1906.

F. Vollmer, *Zu Vergils 6. Ekloge*. Connexion between the proem and body of the eclogue: Vergil's authorship of *Ciris* possible. F. Solmsen, *Präpositionsgebrauch in griech. Mundarten*. Έν with acc. (motion whither) and Παρά with acc. (place where) the older, West-Greek constructions. H. Raeder, *Ueber die Echtheit der platonischen Briefe*. 4. Historical and political references. 5. Philosophy. M. Ihm, *Zur Ueberlieferung und Textkritik von Suetons Schrift de gramm. et rhetoribus*. Maintains importance of a Vienna MS. of the fifteenth century discovered by Huemer and freshly collated by Ihm. O. Seeck and H. Schenkl, *Eine verlorene Rede des Themistios*. The Panegyric addressed in 362-3 to Julian, to which apparently refers an hypothesis in the cod. Salmanticus of that author. Text and notes. R. Hildebrandt, *De figuris coniectanea*. Metalepsis, Prothysteron, Syllepsis, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Explanation of Porphyrian 27 L. M. H. van Herwerden, *Adn. crit. ad Libanii orationum editionem Foersterianam* (from vol. 60). Oratt. 26-50. F. Skutsch, *Zu Ennius' Iphigenia*. Lexicographical and metrical points; emendation. W. Pelka, *Zu Aufidius Bassus*. His history ended with the year 31 A.D. *Miscellen*: F. B., *Ein paar Namen und Personen*; F. Rühl, *Die Rechnung nach Jahren vor Christus* ('first suggested by Petavius'); L. Radermacher, *Euripides Bacchen* 65 ff.; W. Crönert, *In fragmenta libelli qui ab Hippomacho incipit adn. crit.*; H. Rabe and A. B., *Nachlese zu Phoibammon*; M. Schmitt-Hartlieb, *Zu Seneca Tro.* 783; F. Reuss, *Noch einmal zu Diod.* 18. 26 (Alexander's hearse); A. Ausfield, *Zu Iul. Valerius*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1906.

14 Nov. H. Moeller, *Ein Problem aus der Antigone* (H. Kleingünther). On 905 sqq., favourable. C. Jullian, *Vercingétorix*. 2. Aufl. Übersetzt von H. Siegler Schmidt (R. Oehler), very favourable. M. H. Morgan, *On the Language of Vitruvius* (H. Nohl), favourable. Morgan, *Notes on Vitruvius* (H. Nohl), favourable. W. Dietrich, *Quaestionum Vitruvianarum specimen* (H. Nohl), favourable. Phillimore, *Index verborum Propertianus* (K. P. Schulze). 'A welcome addition to Phillimore's text.' A. Schilling, *Lucubrationum Stilianarum*

pars prior (R. Helm). 'Has an excellent introduction.' Fr. Blass, *Textkritisches zu den Korintherbriefen* (J. Dräseke), favourable. G. Schmidt, *De Anonymi Laurembergiani Introductione Anatomica* (R. Fuchs).

21 Nov. A. S. Arvanitopulos, *Phylen-Heroen am Parthenonfries* (E. v. Mach). 'Correctness of results not proved.' O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (A. Fick). 'Indispensable for Greek History.' H. Francotte, *Le conseil et l'Assemblée générale chez les Achéens* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. Caccialanza, *Analecta Vergiliana et Horatiana* (K. P. Schulze). On Hor. *Od.* iii. 30. 11 and iv. 14. 26, and on Verg. *Ecl.* i. 65. K. Friz, *Sogenannte Verbal-Ellipse bei Quintilian* (H. Blase), favourable. C. L. Smith, *A Preliminary Study of certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars* (Th. Opitz).

28 Nov. H. Swoboda, *Beiträge zur griechischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. M. Carrol, *Aristotle's Aesthetics of Painting and Sculpture* (A. Döring). 'Too superficial.' R. Neuhöfer, *Die dem Vergilius Maro zugeschriebenen Gedichte Catalepton* (F. Vauček), favourable. A. Anastasi, *Quatenus T. Livius L. Coelio Antipatro auctore usus sit* (W. Soltau). 'Careful but superfluous.' *Dioscuridis de materia medica libri V*, ed. M. Wellmann. Vol. II, quo continentur libri III et IV (R. Fuchs), very favourable.

5 Dec. W. v. Landau, *Die Bedeutung der Phönizier im Völkerleben* (O. Meltzer), favourable on the whole. G. R. T. Ross, *Aristotle De Sensu and De Memoria*. Text and translation with introduction and commentary (A. Döring), favourable. A. Kraemer, *De locis quibusdam, qui in Astronomicon, quae Manilii feruntur esse, libro primo exstant, ab Housmano Britannorum viro doctissimo nuperrime corruptis* (Breiter), favourable. A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'antiquité* (R. Delbrück), very favourable. J. Nicole, *Un catalogue d'œuvres d'art, conservées à Rome à l'époque impériale*. E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*. 2. Aufl. (Soltau). On the remains of the uncanonical gospels and early-Christian traditions, favourable. A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus bis Wrede. Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Soltau), favourable.

12 Dec. H. Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte*. I. *Abbildungen zur alten Geschichte*. 6. Aufl., very favourable. S. Eitrem, *Observations on the Colax of Menander and the Eunuch of Terence* (W. Crönert), favourable. S. Eitrem, *Notes on some Greek Literary Papyri* (W. Crönert), favourable. C. Clemen, *Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments* (Soltau), favourable on the whole. P. Rasi, *Ad Augustini Confession*. xiii. 38. 53.

19 Dec. R. Richter, *Der Skeptizismus in der Philosophie*. I. (A. Bonhöffer), favourable. Berliner Klassikertexte. IV. *Hierokles, Ethische Elementarlehre* (Pap. 9780) unter Mitwirkung von W. Schubart bearb. von H. v. Arnim (W. Crönert). *Demetrii Phalerei de elocutione libellus* rec. L. Radermacher (C. Haeblerlin), favourable. *Apophoreton*, der XLVII Versammlung deutscher Philologen (C. Haeblerlin). E. Oldenburger, *De oraculorum Sibyllinorum elocutione* (C. Haeblerlin), unfavourable. G. Walter, *De Lycophrone Homeri imitatore* (C. Haeblerlin), favourable. *Berliner Bibliothekenführer*, herausg. von P. Schwenke und A. Hortschansky, favourable.

26 Dec. H. Reiter, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Sophokles* (K. Loeschhorn). On Antig. II. 2, 94, 215, 1146. G. Winter, *De mimis Oxyrhynchicis* (W. Crönert), very favourable. Langhehr, *Plautina* (K. Loeschhorn). On the Mercator, favourable.

1907.

2 Jan. Chr. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch* (F. Solmsen), favourable. A. Frickenhaus, *Athens Mauern im IV Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (W. Dörpfeld), favourable. *Demothenes against Midias*, by W. W. Goodwin (Th. Thalheim). 'Does not satisfy critical requirements.' Fr. Vollmer, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Horaz* (J. Bick), favourable on the whole. A. M. A. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Livianischen Lexikographie IV. cis, citra, extra, infra. V. ob, propter* (W. Heraeus), favourable. G. Schön, *Die Differenzen zwischen der Kapitolinischen Magistrats- und Triumphliste* (W. Soltau), favourable.

9 Jan. K. Wessely, *Topographie des Faijûm in griechischer Zeit* (A. Schein), favourable. A. Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* (H. Stending), favourable. M. Ficus, *Quid de Babrii poetae vita indagari possit, quaeritur* (E. Groag). Against some of Crusius' views in Pauly-Wissowa. *Bibliotheca latina*. Bibliographie annuelle des études latines par C. E. Ruelle. I.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. 26. Part 2. 1906.

1. R. M. Dawkins: The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus. (Nine cuts.)
 2. R. P. Jones and E. A. Gardner: Notes on a recently excavated House at Girgenti. (Cut.)
 3. K. T. Frost: Greek Boxing. (Two plates, two cuts.)
 4. P. Gardner: A Note on the Cacus Vase of the Ashmolean Museum. (Cut.)
 5. Silvia M. Welsh: An Attic Grave Lekythos. (Plate.)
 6. A. J. B. Wace: Some Sculptures at Turin. (Three plates.)
 7. D. Mackenzie: The Middle Minoan Pottery of Knossos. (Five plates, cut.)
 8. W. Headlam: The Last Scene of the Eumenides.
 9. G. Dickins: A New Replica of the Choiseul-Gouffier type. (Three cuts.)
 10. C. C. Edgar: Two Bronze Portraits from Egypt. (Plate.)
 11. E. A. Gardner: Note on the Atalanta of Tegea.
 12. A. H. S. Yeames: A Statuette from Norway. (Three cuts.)
 13. F. W. G. Foat: Fresh Evidence for *Tsade*.
 14. G. F. Hill: Sodoma's Collection of Antiques.
- Notices of Books.
Rules, Proceedings, etc.

American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. 10. Part 4. 1906.

1. J. R. Wheeler: A Bronze Statue of Heracles in Boston. (Two plates.)
A statue about two-thirds life-size from Spoleto, of the type known as *Δεξιούμενος*, probably from a fourth-century original; the writer collects ten other examples.
2. J. C. Hoppin: A Panathenaic Amphora with the Name of the Archon Theiophrastos. (Plate, four cuts.)
The date is 313 B.C.; the subjects interesting (Athena and Zeus on columns on obv.; on rev. boxers and a figure personifying the Olympian games); found at Naples.
3. Leila C. Spaulding: On Dating Early Attic Inscriptions. (Ten cuts.)
Criticisms of Larfeld's *Attische Inschriften*; additional criteria of date to be considered, such as use of different materials and arrangement of letters.
4. R. C. MacMahon: A Doryphoros on a red-figured Lekythos. (Plate, two cuts.)
A vase at Athens with a figure of Polycleitan type but not later in date than 460 B.C.; also interesting as an instance of a *stele*-scene on a R.F. vase.
5. A. W. Van Buren: A Bronze Statuette from Norba. (Cut.)
An Eros Discophorus, probably made in Greece in fourth century; Polycleitan modelling.
6. D. M. Robinson: Ointment-vases from Corinth. (Five cuts.)
Publishes several small figurine-vases of the seventh century; types common to Corinth and Rhodes.
7. C. R. Morey: Inscriptions from Rome.
Three inscribed fragments of a stone, mentioning the *Equites Promoti*.
8. D. M. Robinson: Mr. Van Buren's Notes on Inscriptions from Sinope.
Notes and criticisms.

9. Archaeological Discussions (*ed.* H. N. Fowler).

Supplement.

Reports and Regulations of the Archaeological Institute, and the three American Archaeological Schools.

Mittheilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abtheilung. Vol. 31. Heft 3. 1906.

1. C. Fredrich: Lemnos II. (Plate, seven cuts.)
Topographical and archaeological description of Myrina, Hephaistias, and other ancient sites.
2. C. Fredrich: Skyros. (Fifteen cuts.)
Description of the Island and its ancient remains.
3. K. Michel and A. Struck: The Middle-Byzantine Churches of Athens. (Two plates, thirty cuts.)
4. P. Steiner: Ancient Sculptures on the Church of Panagia Gorgoepikoos at Athens. (Two cuts.)
Describes the ancient reliefs inserted in one of the churches discussed in the preceding article; they are of various dates and styles, one being the well-known 'Attic Calendar.'
5. F. Solmsen: The New Inscription from Megara.
Disputes Wilhelm's explanation of the inscription given on pp. 89 ff. of this volume; shows the tomb to be a cenotaph.
6. F. Hiller von Gaertringen: *J.G.* iii. 1306.
Shows that this inscription belongs, not to Athens, but to Carystos in Euboea.
7. A von Salis: Splanchnoptes. (Plate.)
Supports Max Mayer's view (*Jahrb.* 1893, p. 224) that the marble statue of a boy at Athens (No. 248) is a Splanchnoptes; a similar bronze from Dodona, shows that he holds a fork, not a spit; type belongs to fifth century (possibly Styppax).
8. H. Lattermann: Architectural Inscription from Athens.
Comments and criticisms on inscription published earlier in the volume (pp. 135 ff.).
9. Discoveries.

Jahrbuch des Archaeologischen Instituts. Vol. 21. Heft 3. 1906.

1. A. Koster: The Age of the Temple of Athena Nike. (Five cuts.)
Argues (with Wolters) for the late date of the Temple (after the Propylaea) rather than the earlier (c. 440 B.C.). Mnesikles had originally planned the Propylaea symmetrically, but his plan was upset by a popular decree, in virtue of which Pericles erected the Nike temple instead on its artificial substructure.
2. E. Pfühl: Olympiaka. (Three cuts.)
Deals with (1) The altar of Zeus and house of Oinomaos. Pausanias' topography becomes more intelligible if the altar is placed between the Pelopion and Hermaion, and the oval foundation near is regarded as the house. (2) The temple of Sosipolis and Eileithyia. This should be placed under the hill behind the exedra of Herodes. (3) The last pediment of the temple of Zeus. A re-arrangement of the four crouching figures (excluding the old man) proposed, the two outer being placed in the centre, the inner ones at the ends in a reversed position.
3. B. Sauer: An Apollo by Paionios. (Ten cuts.)
Compares the Nike with the Hertz head, already attributed to Paionios, and an Apollo at Ince Blundell Hall; the latter from the style of the hair can hardly be later than 450 B.C., therefore Paionios belongs to the pre-Parthenon period.

Anzeiger.

- (1) Architectural Remains from Baalbec at Berlin (Puchstein).
- (2) Acquisitions of Louvre, Brit. Mus., Ashmolean, and Boston Mus.

- (3) July Meeting of Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft.
- (4) Reports and Notices.
- (5) Bibliography.

Heft 4

1. F. Poulsen : Developments of Types in Archaic Sculpture. (Twelve cuts.)

A study of the treatment of the nude and draped figures in Early Greek art, showing to what extent each prevailed at different periods. The nudity of primitive figures like those on the Dipylon vases has no special signification, but is mere childish want of skill. The general tendency is to reproduce drapery first by colouring (as in the Boeotian terracottas), later by plastic treatment. The stories of cult-statues being clothed may be founded on fact ; but Greek sculpture does not owe its origin to a development from these nude symbols, as pre-historic art shows. The rarity of the nude in archaic art is not due to prudery : it is the original form in which primitive people conceive and execute their human figures, and later art shows the struggle for the mastery between this nudity and the realism of drapery, a conflict of nature against art. Types like the 'Spes motive' and the 'Hera raising her veil' are discussed, and shown to be purely artistic in origin.

2. B. Schulz : Arcading and Pediments in Roman Architecture. (Three plates, seven cuts.)

Five varieties of architectonic decoration in classical architecture, two of which (niches and *aediculae*) were largely used in Roman times, and their use in combination led to the arcade of single columns as in the Porta Aurea of Diocletian's palace, or to a series of pediments as in the model of a theatre in the Museo Delle Terme at Rome. Syrian architecture is most important as illustrating the development of these features.

Anzeiger.

1. The Great Theatre at Pompeii. (O. Puchstein, four cuts.)
2. The Strassburg Museum of Casts. (A. Michaelis, six cuts.)
3. Nov.-Dec. Meeting of Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft.
4. Notices, Bibliography, etc

H. B. W.

NUMISMATIC.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 3. 1906.

Sir H. Howorth. *Early Parthian and Armenian Coins*. This is a reply to a reply by myself. The editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle* have not favoured me with the opportunity of an answer, even though there is a prospect, I believe, of 'more to come' on the same subject from the same prolific pen. It will perhaps be thought that points of style, fabric, and date, are best left in the hands of numismatic specialists, among whom Sir H. Howorth does not, I believe, claim to number himself. With regard to the questions of chronology and history dealt with by Sir Henry, some scholars may regret that he still persists in ignoring the critical literature about the writings of Moses of Chorene that has accumulated since the time of Langlois, and further that he has not withdrawn his confusing chronology of the early Parthian kings, which he has based on some unnamed, obsolete text of Justin, while entirely ignoring the critical edition of Ruehl and the opinions of competent scholars who have supported the readings of that edition.—Miss K. A. McDowall. *Contorniates and Tabulae Lusoriae*. The method of using the contorniates is discussed and an account given of several interesting types, figured in two plates. Miss McDowall's paper shows that there is much to be done with these curious 'draughts-men' from the archaeological point of view, the explanations of types given by Sabatier, and even by Robert, being often far from satisfactory. The time seems to have come when

a *Corpus*—or at least the beginnings of a *Corpus*—of contorniates might be attempted with advantage.

Revue suisse de numismatique. Vol. 13. 1906. First Livraison, Part 2.

This periodical rarely includes articles on classical numismatics, but the present number (pp. 161-272) contains the first instalment of a valuable article on rare or unpublished coins of Asia Minor, by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, with the title *Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde*. The Imperial silver (cistophoric) coinage of the Province of Asia is discussed and a number of coins of various parts of Asia Minor are examined or described for the first time.

Rivista italiana di numismatica. Part 3. 1906.

F. Gnechi. *Intorno ai Medaglioni. Dialogo.*—F. Gnechi. *Le tre monete*. On some small peculiarities of this well known type. It is suggested that Gold is represented by the central figure.—Gabrici. *Relfzioni artistiche e religiose fra Cuma degli Opici e l'Oriente greco-asiatico rivelate dalle monete.*—Laffranchi. *La cronologia delle monete di Adriano*. Pp. 329-374 and plates of coins (obverses). The types of the different issues are set forth year by year in a tabular form.—G. Dattari. *Nuova teoria sopra il systema monetario della riforma di Diocleziano.*—G. Pansa. *Nuovo contributo alla teorica delle contromarche monetarie presso i Romani*. Chiefly on the countermarks found on early Imperial coins (Augustus—Vespasian).

Revue numismatique. Part 3. 1906.

R. Jameson. *L'œuvre de Théodote à Clazomène*. Gives a plate of the remarkable tetradrachms of Clazomenae (*obv.* Head of Apollo *rev.* Swan), which bear the signature of the artist Theodotus. These specimens show that four different dies were used for the obverses and four for the reverses. 'Sur les nos. 4, 5 et 6, le dieu est représenté avec une expression de tristesse méprisante qui confine au dégoût.' On Nos. 1 and 2, 'la figure, plus pleine et plus sereine ne présente pas le caractère tourmenté qui distingue les autres coins; la bouche, au lieu d'être allongée en une moue de dédain, est ronde et charnue.' I may perhaps remark that none of these varieties, impressive as they are, quite fits in with our conception of an ideal head of Apollo: indeed, the full, heavy face of Nos. 4-6 somewhat suggests the portrait of a barbarian woman.—J. de Foville. *Les statues de Héra à Platées d'après les monnaies*. The scanty coinage of Plataea consists of some bronze pieces and of silver hemi-drachms of two types, one with a full-face head of Hera, the other with her head in profile. B. V. Head has assigned all these hemi-drachms to the period B.C. 387-374, but de Foville would place the full-face head to B.C. 386-372 and the profile head to some time after B.C. 338. The full-face head is regarded as imitated from the Hera made by Callimachus (unfortunately, specimens of this rare coin are badly preserved), and the profile type as recalling the Hera Teleia of Praxiteles. (On the two statues of Hera at Plataea, see Paus. ix. 2. 7.)—R. Mowat. *D'une collection générale permanente de monnaies contremarquées*. Describes many countermarked coins of Italy, Macedonia, Egypt, etc.—A. Merlin. *Le grand bronze de Nerva 'tutela Italiae.'* On a coin engraved in J. Tristan's 'Empereurs' (1644) with a *rev.* referring to the *alimenta* instituted by Nerva. No specimens of the piece exist and there is good reason to think that Tristan's engraving is pure invention.—A. Dieudonné. *Choix de monnaies et médailles du Cabinet de France*. Coins of Bruttii, with a plate.

WARWICK WROTH.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY 1907.

VERB FORMS IN PLAVTVS.

(Continued from page 52.)

§ 16.—Diaeresis and Syncopation in Perfects.

coëpi, Cas. 701, Cist. 687, both in bacchiac verse.

coëpit, Cas. 651, bacchiac verse.

mécum rém coëpit, Merc. 533, iamb. septen.
_{5 6 7}

súr[ru]pút, at vs. end, Capt. prol. 8, 760, 1011. One would like to read similar forms in Men. 510, *súrruput*, and in Poen. prol. 66, *súrripitúr*, but these are by no means sure.
_{3 4 3 4}

The participle *surrupus* occurs 14 times. This is the only form possible metrically, in eight places. Either the fuller or the syncopated form might stand in the other six, viz. :—

Poen. 902 (we can keep the fuller form by reading *ind*).

Pers. 150 (" " " " *und*).

R. 1105 (" " " " *fút uirgó*).
_{4 5}

Poen. 1346 (" " " " *eae súnt*).

Poen. 1058 (" " " " *Antídama[s] hospés*; but
_{4 5}

in 955 we get *Antidamás fút*).

Pers. 380 (*et ut ut* ?).

Other syncopated perfects are *réccidit*, *repperi*, *reppuli*, *rettuli*; see § 13, and § 53, *iurigo*, etc. Add Pers. 834, *conciliaut*? (*concilia ut* BCD); cf. Mil. 1038, Cas. 543, As. 501.

§ 17.—*Habes with Perfect Passive Participle.*

This occurs very frequently in Plautus, but "Cases in which it is the equivalent of the perfect active are more rare than has been supposed; probably there are none in Plautus." Morris. See Thielmann, in *Archiv L.L.* II, 372-423, 509-549.

FUTURE PERFECT.

§ 18.—*Quantity of -i-*.

Short *-i-* is correct for the future perfect, long *-i-* for the perfect subjunctive; but the two tenses are often confused in quantity. In Plautus we find 6 (10?) instances of short *-i-* in the future perfect, and 7 (8?) instances of long *-i-*; in the perfect subjunctive 10 (12?) instances of long *-i-*, and 5 of short *-i-*. He seems, therefore, to be somewhat more correct in his measurement of the perfect subjunctive. Cf. § 26.

(i) Short *-i-* :—

B. 1195, *si amisērit' post in*, anap. septen.

Ps. 946, *ubi effēcērit hōc*, anap. septen.

Pers. 787, *si rediērit eius*, anap. octon.

Mil. 156, *ni defregēritis*, troch. septen.

Mil. 157, *quemque uidēritis*, troch. septen.

Mil. 160, *quemque uidēritis*, troch. septen.

Similar to these are four others, though they are strictly futures and not future perfects (see §§ 5, 6) :—

R. 304, *nisi cāpsimūs*, iamb. septen., colon end.

R. 731, *ni exoculāssitīs*, troch. septen.

R. 811, *nei inuitāssitīs*, iamb. sen.

Mil. 163, *ni mulcāssitīs*, troch. septen.

(ii) Long *-i-* :—

Men. 521, *faxo . . . comedērits*, iamb. sen.

Ps. 100, *nisi . . . flēueris argēteis*, iamb. sen.

Poen. 213, *si . . . occēperis ex*, bacchiac verse.

Men. 256, *nisi . . . reuōrtērits*, iamb. sen.

Mil. 1176, *ubi . . . abierit ibi tu flicō*, troch. septen.

Trin. 788, b, *quom . . . attulerit epistulas*, iamb. sen.

Truc. 344, *si . . . obtigerit hereditas*, iamb. sen.

Add the future *nisi . . . ordasseis*, E. 728, troch. septen.

Other possible instances, at colon end, are of course too doubtful to be listed.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

Some of the following forms are really optatives originally, but may be put here for convenience.

§ 19.—Forms of *do*.

duim, 1 med. vs. (Aul. 672).

intérduim, 2, vs. end.

pérduim, 2, vs. end.

creduam, 1, vs. end.

dūis, 6, vs. end ; 1 med. vs. (R. 1368).

crédūis, 1, vs. end ; 1 med. vs. (Am. 672).

pérduis, 1, vs. end ; 1 med. vs. (Capt. 728).

dūas, 1, vs. end ; 1 med. vs. (Merc. 401).

crédūas, 2, vs. end.

accrédūas, 1, vs. end.

indūas, 1, vs. end.

dūit, 2, vs. end.

crédūit, 1, vs. end.

pérduit, 1, vs. end ; 1, med. vs. (Poen. 740).

crédūat, 2, vs. end.

dūint, 4, vs. end ; 1, med. vs. (Ps. 937).

pérduint, 13, vs. end ; 1, med. vs. (Men. 451).

Total, optative forms, 33 at vs. end, 7 med. vs. ; ordinary forms, 8 at vs. end, 1 med. vs.

§ 20.—Forms of *edo*.

edim, Aul. 430, Poen. 1284, Trin. 474, 475.

comedim, B. 743, Curc. 560.

edis, Men. 249, Poen. 867, Trin. 473.

comedis, Trin. 102.

edas, Poen. 534.

edit, 7.

edimus, Poen. 537.

edint, Men. 457.

comedint, Truc. 534.

exedint, Ps. 821.

edant, S. 554. The forms *edas*, *edant*, are doubted by Dr. Postgate (*Cl. Rev.* xvi. [1902] 112).

§ 21.—*Miscellaneous Present Subjunctives.**coēplāt*, Truc. 232.^{7 8}*sustóllat*, Mil. 310.³*témpērīnt*, Truc. prol. 61.
^{5 6}

AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE.

§ 22.—*Forms in -sim.**ausim*, 8 (in Merc. 301 A reads *aussim*).*empsim*, Cas. 347 (Acidalius ; *emisim*, VJ).*empsim*, Mil. 316 (Lindemann).*faxim*, 10.*obiexim*, Poen. 446 (A ; -o bi ex im, B ; -o bi exim, CD').*amissis*, B. 1188 (MSS.).*dixis*, 6 (*deixis*, Merc. 484, A).*faxis*, 9 ; for futures, see § 5.*induxis*, Capt. 149 (*induxisti*, E).*obiexis*, Cas. 404 (Lambinus ; *oblexis*, BVE).*parsis*, B. 910 (*par sis*, B).*parsis*, Ps. 79 (*pars is*, B).*prohibessis*, Aul. 611 (*prohibes sis*, BDE).*respexis*, Most. 523 (BCD²).*responsis*, Truc. 606 (BCD).*ambissit*, Am. prol. 71 (Fruterius ; *ambisset*, B ; *ambissent*, DEJ).*ausit*, B. 697, Mil. 11.*excussit*, B. 598.*extinxit*, Truc. 524.*faxit*, 7 ; for futures, see § 5.*licessit*, As. 603 (*silices sit*, BD).*prohibessit*, Ps. 14 (*sit* as separate word, BCD).*subrepsit*, Mil. 333.*faxtmus*, Truc. prol. 60 (Camerarius ; *facimus*, MSS.).⁴*adaxint*, Aul. 50.*ambissint*, Am. prol. 69 (Fruterius ; *ambissent*, MSS.).*faxint*, 16 (Aul. 788 *ita di faxint, inquit.* # *ita di faciant.*).
^{5 6 7 8 1 2}

Total, 78.

§ 23.—*Forms in -assim.**locassim*, Aul. 228.*negassim*, As. 503.*amassis*, Mil. 1007 (separatim, BCD).

curassis, Most. 526, Poen. 553 (separatim, B), Ps. 232.
demutassis, Vid. 91.
indicassis, Aul. 608 (D ; *indicasses*, BE).
inmutassis, Aul. 585 (Acidalius).
occultassis, Trin. 627.
occupassis, Most. 1097 (separatim, BCD).
opt<ass>is, Mil. 669 (Camerarius).
supplicassis, As. 467 (separatim, E).
abiurassit, Pers. 478.
celebrassit, Frag. 66, Cornicula, Nonius.
perennitassit, Pers. 330 (Bücheler).
seruassit, Cist. 742 (B² ; separatim, B¹E).
amassint, Curc. 578.
seruassint, As. 654 (separatim, BE), Cas. 324, Ps. 37 (separatim, CD),
 S. 505 (D ; *serua sint*, B), Trin. 384.

Total, 23.

§ 24.—Forms of *tango*.

¹*attigás*, B. 445, E. 723, Truc. 276.
²*attigas*, Pers. 816, bacchiac verse.
³*ne attigátis. tángtíé*, Most. 468.
⁴⁵⁶
 Cf. Mil. 1092, *tägö* (Bothe ; so practically B, but CD have *tango*, against metre).

§ 25.—Forms of *uenio*.

⁵⁶*áduëndí*, Ps. 1030 (BD).
⁵⁶*éuën[]át*, Curc. 39 (Muret).
⁵⁶*éuën[]át*, E. 290 (Bothe).
⁷⁸*éuën[]át*, Mil. 1010 (Ritschl).
⁷⁸*éuën[]át*, Trin. 41 (Pareus).
⁵⁶*éuën[]ánt*, E. 321 (Bothe), end of cretic tetram.
⁷⁸*péruën[]át*, R. 626 (Guyet).
⁵⁶*péruëndánt*, Trin. 93 (Pareus ; *perueniant*, A ; *peruenat*, B ; *perueniat*, CD)

Besides these eight sure cases, for which metre is the only proof, apart from Ps. 1030 and perhaps Trin. 93, one would like to read similar forms, medio uersu, in these places :—*cónuen[i]ám*, B. 348 ; *cónuen[i]át*, Trin. 583 ; *éuen[i]át*, B. 144, Curc. 271, Most. 58 ; *éuen[i]ánt*, Most. 395, Pers. 629 ; *éuen[i]únt*, Curc. 125, Pers. 454 ; but these are very doubtful.

Add, as an aorist subjunctive, *abstulas*, R. frag., Diomedes.

PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

§ 26.—Quantity of -i- (cf. § 18).

(i) Long -i- :—

Men. 1101, *quasi émeris argénto*, troch. septen.Capt. 248, *quí fueris et quí*, troch. septen.Capt. 407, *út fueris animátus*, troch. septen.Merc. 924, *quia . . . addúxerit in*, troch. septen.Ps. 962, *quotumas . . . dixerit id ego ad-*, troch. septen.[R. 391, *ne périerit*. # *Ubinam éa*, iamb. septen. ; not a certain instance.]Cist. 679, *quis sústulerit et*, colon end of anap. octon.Cist. 11, *ut méminerimús*, bacchiac verse.B. 1132, *qui . . . uénerimús*, bacchiac verse.Mil. 862, *ne dixeritis*, iamb. sen.Poen. 953, *ut sirtis*, iamb. sen.Add the aorist *si faximus*, Truc. prol. 60 (Camerarius), iamb. sen.

(ii) Short -i- :—

Pers. 494, *ut méminērit' dím*, anap. octon.S. 42, *ut . . . méminēris officiúm*, anap. dim.S. 47, *mémínērit' fácito*, anap. dim. catal.R. 1040, *tētūlērit' íbo*, troch. septen. "Proceleumaticus frequens hoc versus loco," Leo ad Am. 718.Cist. 4, *qui mágis pōtūlēritis*, anap. monometer hypercatal. (*potueris*, B).

PLUPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

§ 27.—Forms in -sem.

faxem, Ps. 499 (ABCD).*intellexes*, Cist. 625 (Camerarius ; *intellexisses*, E).*iussés*, Pers. 106 (Bugge ; *ius est*, BCD).*recesset*, Merc. 73 (Lambinus ; *recessit*, BCD).

IMPERATIVE.

§ 28.—*Dic, duc, fer.*

<i>dic</i> (<i>deic</i> , Merc. 529, A).	<i>dice</i> (8) and compounds (4).
35 before vowels	3
84 „ consonants	9
—	—
119	12
<i>duc</i> (10) and compounds (4).	<i>duce</i> (6) and compounds (19).
8 before vowels	12
6 „ consonants	13
—	—
14	25
<i>fac</i>	<i>face</i>
18 before vowels	7
46 „ consonants	14
at vs. end	16
dub. (Truc. 924)	1
—	—
64	38

Note R. 124:—

Tu siquid opus est dice. # *Dic quod te rogó.*
3 4

The compounds are

addice, Poen. 498.

benedice, Aul. 787, Cas. 346 (is this really a compound? see § 54, vii. ad fin.).

indice, Ps. 546.

abduc, Men. 436, Poen. 1147, S. 418.

adduc, Ps. 389.

abduce, 6.

adduce, 7.

circumduce, As. 97, Mil. 221, Most. 843.

<*de*>*duce*, Truc. 479.

educ, Pers. 459, S. 762.

Compare Mil. 256:—

dice, *mónstra*, *praéctpé* (*dice*, A; omitted in other MSS.).
5 6 7 8

with Capt. 359:—

dice [*de*]*mónstra*, *praéctpé* (secl. Camerarius).
5 6 7 8

On these three imperatives see Lindsay, L.L. p. 518, and his note on Capt. 359, editio maior, p. 211.

§ 29.—*Miscellaneous Imperative Forms.*

cēdo, 85 instances.

cette, Merc. 965 (Camerarius; *certe*, MSS.).

cette patri meo, Frag. Fab. Inc. 46 (59), Cledonius.

es, see § 37, ad fin.

facē, Pers. 398; this seems reasonably sure, but *agē*, Capt. 444, and *ingerē*, Ps. 359, are very doubtful. There are at least six verse-ends like *pérđē rém*, Most. 20, *dícē dúm*, R. 1156.

cōmmintscerē, *cedo cōlidum*, Mil. 226; *complēcterē*, As. 615, is less probable, as it stands at change of speaker.

prōgredimínó, Ps. 859.

man' = *mane* (?), Aul. 655; *mitt'* = *mitte*, Ps. 239; *redd'* = *redde*, S. 768; so Skutsch, Forschungen, I. 149, 150. Lindsay prints *it'* in Poen. 1237, and suggests *it'* in Pers. 758.

INFINITIVE.

§ 30.—*Present active in—ē.*

Truc. 425, *míhi darē munúsculí*.

As. 250, *fíngerē falláciám* (cf. As. 252).

Ps. 1003, *míttēre scriptám solét*.

Mil. 848, *prómerē. uerum hóc erát*.

Ps. 355, *prómerē possúm tíbí*.

R. 244, *utuerē nūnc uellm*, cretic verse.

The above are the surest instances; more doubtful are

Pers. 487, *créderē míhi nón uis*, troch. octon.

Mil. 27, *dícerē uolūt femúr*, iamb. sen.

R. 1119, *dícerē, senex eám*, troch. septen.

Men. 887, *dúcerē medicum án fabrúm*.

Pers. 273, *oboédire uelis*. # *Asta*, troch. octon.

Truc. 528, *sáuiúm peterē tuom iúbeas*, troch. septen.

S. 513, *promitterē, nisi nóllem*, troch. septen.

Poen. 628, *quádrerē comitém síbí*.

Still more doubtful are

Trin. 584, *ha<u>d daré.* # *Quin tu i modó.*

Am. 345, *dlceré.* # *Quid ébst opús.*

Merc. 934, *dlceré.* # *Certum éxegut.*

Mil. 1316, *dlceré.* # *Saluae siént.*

Pers. 826, *rédderé Diodórus,* troch. septen., second foot.

Twelve of these nineteen instances occur at the antepenultimate ictus. Cf. Jacobsohn, *Quaestiones Plautinae*, 1904, p. 40. Verse endings like *expectáre úls,* Trin. 734, *scré rém,* Poen. 555, occur at least nineteen times.

§ 31.—Present Passive.

	vs. end.	med. vs.
-arier	101	1
-erier	17	
-ier	39	3
-irier	18	1
	175	5

Mil. 1073, anap. septen. :—

risu[m], ádmóderárier $\underline{\quad}$ $\underline{\quad}$

Men. 1006, iamb. dim. acatal. :—

Luct derípier in uia.

This has been said to be the only form in -ier with a short antepenult, but there is another instance in Poen. 742.

Poen. 742, iamb. sen. :—

Forás egrédier uldeo.

Doubtless we should read *Forás égredíre uldeo.* Cf. § 45 (7).

Cas. 220, anap. septen. :—

utler omníbus.

Cas. 723, anap. septen. :—

patricíque amicríer átque.

Note Mil. 881, iamb. septen. :—

*At méliust * monériér.* # *Meretricem cómmonéri,*

and Truc. 753, troch. septen. :—

Síne experíri. # *Immo ópperíre : úls est éxperíri<ér>.*

§ 32.—*Miscellaneous Present Infinitives.*

coēpere, Pers. 121.

³
quaēsērē, B. 178.

⁵ ⁶
sustōllērē, Cist. 550.

⁵ ⁶
sústollī, Poen. 1168.

⁴ ⁵
ess' = *esse*, Pers. 260 (Lindsay), and probably elsewhere.

§ 33.—*Perfect Active.*

addux[]e, R. 1047 (Camerarius).

admisse, Mil. 1287 (MSS.).

aduexe, Merc. 333 (MSS.).

despexe, Mil. 553 (A; *despexi*, B¹CD¹).

detraxē, Trin. 743 (A; *detraxi*, BCD).

dixe, Am. Frag. xi, Nonius.

dixe, Poen. 961 (*dixi*, A).

inlexē, Merc. 53 (Camerarius; *inlexit*, B).

§ 34.—*Future Active in -assere.*

impetrássērē, Aul. 687 (BD); Cas. 271; Mil. 1128 (BD); S. 71 (AB),—all four at vs. end.

⁷ ⁸
oppugnássērē, Am. 210.

⁵ ⁶
reconciliássērē, Capt. 168.

Cf. §§ 6, 23.

§ 35.—*Miscellaneous Future Infinitives.*

Cas. 693, *occisurum ait*, = *occisuram (esse)* (-am, AB²; -um, B¹. Cf. Gelius I. 7. 11).

Truc. 400, *bona sua me <d> habiturum*, = *habituram (esse)* (-um, BCD. Cf. Jahrb. 1872, p. 571, and Dr. Postgate in *Class. Rev.* xviii. (1904) 451 ff.).

Mil. 941, *confido confuturum* (Camerarius; *cum futurum*, B; *cumfuturum*, CD).

Cas. 699, *datum iri*; R. 1242, *praēdatum irēr*. This is noteworthy as apparently the only place in which this verbal form has been preserved in extant literature in a deponent use: see Dr. Postgate in 'Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 1891,' p. 24, *Class. Rev.* xvii. (1903) 57; Curc. 491, *rédditum etri* (*firi*, MSS.); Truc. 886, *tactum <i>ri*.

§ 36.—*Supine, Gerund, and Participles.*

esum, Curc. 228 (BEJ); *essum*, Men. 458 (BCD); S. 182 (ABCD; *esum* F only).

laudum, Aul. 579 (B, metre); R. 382 (BCD, metre); *lau[]tum*, S. 568 (Fleck-eisen, metri gratia); *lautum*, S. 595 (ABCD, metre).

abiendi, Am. frag. xv, Nonius, Priscian; cf. Aul. 105, *abeundumst*.

Gerunds and gerundives, not including *eundus*, *oriundus*, *secundus*, show *-und-* 82 times, *-end-* 71 times.

Nonius 76, 14, cites *nobis praesente*, as occurring in the *Amphitruo*. This is thought to refer to verse 400; cf. the three verses quoted by Pius between Am. 824 and 825.

Truc. 125, *tuis seruio atque audiens sum imperiis*; Capt. 925, *carens fui*; Am. prol. 132, *cupiens maxumest*; Mil. 997, *cupiens est*; Poen. 660, *est cupiens*; R. 943, *sum indigens*; Most. 141, *neglegens fui*; Poen. 1038 *sis sciens*.

As. 196, *abusa*, passive (so understood by Nonius); B. 350, *exorsa*, passive.

Most. 1168, *cunctam* as a participle (= *coniunctam* or *couinctam*?).

Trin. 264, b, *abstandis*.

E. 74, *púppis péreundást probé*.

Trin. 1159, *placénda dos quoquest*.

Note Trin. 869, *agitándumst úgiliás*, and Capt. 852, *nóminandi istórum . . . cópiá*.

THE VERB SUM.

§ 37.—*Second Person Singular, Present Indicative.*

ēs, 60 instances. To these we must add

ess, Merc. 489 (A);

ess, R. 240 (B); and six places in the *Truculentus* where the MSS. give *esse* for *es*, viz. :—

Truc. 152, *eē*, B; *esse*, C D (dittography before *sed*?).

Truc. 176, *eē*, BD; *esse*, C.

Truc. 289, *eē*, BD; *esse*, C.

Truc. 373, *eē*, BD; *esse*, C (vs. end).

Truc. 378, *isse*, BCD.

Truc. 529, *eē*, B; *es*, CD.

There are various places where *es* appears as *est*, but these do not seem to point to the form *ess* so clearly as do those showing *esse*.

Es, imperative: *animó bñd's*, at vs. end, Aul. 732, Cist. 591, Mil. 1206 (?), Ps. 322; *bóno animó's*, Aul. 787, Cist. 73, Mil. 1143, 1342, R. 679; *animo liquido et tranquillo's*, E. 643, *liquido's animo*, Ps. 232. No one of these eleven instances proves length for the imperative.

§ 38.—*Siem, etc.*

	<i>vs. end.</i>	<i>med. vs.</i>
<i>siem</i>	19	Am. prol. 130.
<i>sies</i>	23	Poen. 148, Truc. 897.
<i>siet</i>	84	13 (by emendation in Cas. 176, 177).
<i>sient</i>	27	Aul. 495, Curc. 322, Merc. 839.
<i>potis siem</i>	1	
<i>possiem</i>	1	B. 762.
<i>possies</i>	5	
<i>possiet</i>	7	
<i>adsiet</i>	2	Ps. 1115.
<i>subsiet</i>	1	
	170	21

The 13 instances of *siet* *med. vs.* are Am. prol. 106, Am. 157, Aul. 370, B. 652, Cas. 176, 514, Men. 764, Merc. 175, Mil. 261, Poen. 1405, Ps. 1120, R. 321, S. 202.

The 21 instances of these words *med. vs.* are (except Cas. 176, 177) well attested by MSS. (3 by ABCD), and 11 of them seem required by metre (bacchiac verse, 1; cretic, 1; fourth foot of senarius, 4; scattering, 5). Leo generally retains them in such places, but prints the shorter forms where the metre does not demand the longer ones. Lindsay, on the contrary, nearly always accepts the MSS. readings, whether required by metre or not. In R. 321, *siet* would give a solitary iambic octonarius in a long series of iambic septenarii, 290-413. In Cas. 514 the initial *siet* comes by copying the final *siet* of 513. Note Men. 341:—

Rogitánt quoidátis slt, quid et nomén siét;

Trin. 694:—

Tlbi sit émolumentum honóris; míhi quod óbiectént siét;

and Pers. 237, *sis . . . siem*; R. 1381, *sis . . . siem*; Trin. prol. 6, *sim . . . siet*; E. 574-75, *sit . . . siet*.

§ 39.—*Fuam and forem.*

	<i>vs. end.</i>	<i>med. vs.</i>
<i>fuam</i>	1	
<i>fuas</i>	1	Capt. 443, Pers. 51, Trin. 267.
<i>fuat</i>	10	Aul. 426 (?), Capt. 260, Men. 171, Mil. 299.
<i>fuant</i>	3	Ps. 432.
	15	8

	<i>vs. end.</i>	<i>med. sv.</i>
<i>forem</i>	2	R. 218.
<i>foret</i>	16	6
<i>forent</i>	2	B. 953, Most. 800.
<i>fore</i>	30	22
<i>affore</i>	1	
<i>adfore</i>	1	
	52	31

"The equivalent of *forsitan* (which is not used by Plautus, and only seldom, if ever, by Terence) is in Plautus *fors fuat an*, e.g. *Pseud.* 432." It is wrong to use *e.g.* here, for *fors fuat an* occurs in Plautus *once only*, Ps. 432.

§ 40.—*Forms of possum.*

potis = *potes*, Mil. 782, Pers. 580, Ps. 945.

= *potes*, 13.

= *posse*, 5.

pote = *potes*, Aul. 390, Capt. 398, Pers. 30, Trin. 352.

= *potes*, Most. 256.

= *poterit* (?), Capt. 398 (Spengel; *poteris*, MSS.).

= *posse*, Capt. 171, Truc. 317.

potis es, Capt. 970, Mil. 684, 1322, Pers. 35.

potis est, 7.

(*potis est* (A), S. 626, apparently against metre; cf. S. 773.)

potis sunt, Poen. 227.

potis sis, Poen. 875.

potis esse, Ps. 1302.

potin tu, Poen. 1089.

potine tu, Cist. 231.

potin = *potesne*, Cist. 368, Curc. 246.

potin ut, 21.

potine ut, Men. 466, Merc. 441.

potin est, Trin. 759.

potin abeas, Cas. 731, Pers. 297.

potin ne, Pers. 175.

potesse = *posse*, 5.

potisset (BCD), Mil. 884 (*potis sit*, Leo).

potis siem, Merc. 331.

possiem, B. 762, S. 479.

possies, 5.

possiet, 7.

COMPOUNDS OF VOLO.

§ 41.—*Forms of malo.**magis uolo* (?), Cist. 299.*máuðló*, at vs. end, 7 ; med. vs., Ps. 728.*malo*, 7.*magis uis*, Mil. 1337.*mauis*, 7.*mauoltis*, B. 1119.*máuðlét*, As. 121.*máuðlétm*, at vs. end, 12 ; med. vs., As. 877, Aul. 661, Merc. 356, Truc. 277.*malim*, 15.*máuðlls*, vs. end, Ps. 140 ; med. vs., Capt. 270.*malis*, Am. 511, Cist. 33.*mauelit*, med. vs., Trin. 306.*malint*, S. 80.*mauellem*, 8.*mallem*, Curc. 512 (BEJ). Cf. *nollem*, which also occurs once only, S. 513, but has not aroused the criticism that *mallem* of Curc. 512 has.§ 42.—*Forms of nolo.**non uolo* (?), Aul. 703 (*nolo* MSS.).*nollo*, S. 631 (BC), 720 (BCD), 734 (BCD).*nolo*, 56.*nēuls*, vs. end, 6 ; med. vs., 4.*non uis*, 9.*nēuólt*, vs. end, 4 ; med. vs., Trin. 364.*non uolt*, 4.*nólümús*, S. 142.*nolunt*, R. 619.*nolim*, 5.*nón uēlls*, Poen. 244 (bacchiac), Trin. 671 (vs. end).*nolis*, 3.*nón uēllt*, vs. end, Merc. 452, 453.*nolit*, Most. 287.*uón uēllnt*, vs. end, Merc. 7, Most. 681.*non uellem*, Cist. 506.*nollem*, S. 513.*non uelles*, Aul. 286.Other forms, such as *malui*, *nolebam*, *nolet*, etc., are regular and without variants.Add *maxume uis*, Merc. 886, Most. 392, Ps. 1042 ; *ueis*, etc., 11 ; *uolümus*, Ps. 233 (A), Truc. 192 (A), is probably not Plautine at all. *Ne . . . uelim*, Truc. 877 ? (*re facere si uelim*, BC).

THE VERB BITO.

§ 44.—Bito and its Compounds.

- si rebĭto*, Capt. 409 (B).
ni abĕtis, B. 1172 (Brugmann ; *abeas*, BCD).
si adbites, Capt. 604 (B).
si bitet, Curc. 141 (B).
si rebĭtet, Capt. 696 ("quidam apud Pareum" ; *redibit et*, MSS.).
si rebitet, Capt. 747 (B).
ne bitas, Merc. 465 (A ; *ne uitas*, B).
ne abitas, E. 304 (B).
ne inbitas, E. 145 (B).
caue praeterbitas, E. 437 (B).
si rebitas, Capt. 380 (B).
ne bitat, S. 608 (A ; *ne ebitat*, reliqui).
ne abitat, R. 777 (ACD).
ne abaetat, Truc. 96 (B ; *abeat*, CD).
ne interbitat, Most. 1096 (BCD).
ne praeterbitamus, Poen. 1163 (A ; *praeterbita*, B).
utinam perbĭtĕrés, R. 495 (BCD).
licet bĭtere, Ps. 254, bacchiac (Lipsius ; *uiuere*, MSS.).
interminatus eum perbĭtĕré, Ps. 778 (BCD).

INTERCHANGE OF CONJUGATIONS.

§ 45.—Eighteen verbs (and their compounds) show forms wavering between two conjugations, or differing from the conjugation usual in other authors.

(1) *accipĭs*, S. 615 ; *percipĭt*, Men. 921.

- (2) *ciet*, pres. indic., B. 415.
conciēt „ „ Merc. 877, Trin. 399.
exciēt „ „ Ps. 1285.
ac<c>iēbo, Mil. 935.
exciām, fut. indic. Curc. 295.
pĕrciēs, „ „ As. 475.
cōnciēt, „ „ Am. 476.
<c>ibi<i>, R. 1101.
concias, As. 824.

Indeterminate forms, 4.

(3) *cupīs*, Curc. 363.

(4) *facīs*, Am. 555, bacchiac.

facīt, Truc. 555, bacchiac.

facīmus?, Truc. prol. 60 (usually changed to *faxīmus*).

(5) *feruent*, Ps. 840 (BCD, codd. Pyladis); but

feruont, Ps. 840 (A).

(6) *fōdītur*, B. 1159.

fōdēre, Curc. 130, Most. 380, Trin. 754.

ecfōdītō, Men. 156.

ecfodēre, Cas. 455.

ēxfodīri, Mil. 315 (troch. septen.).

ēxfodīri, Mil. 374 (iamb. septen.).

(7) *gradior*, 3 forms of 3rd, 0 of 4th, 0 indeterminate.

adgradior, 3 " " 7 " 16 "

congradior, 2 " " 1 " 8 "

degradior, 0 " " 1 (?) " 0 "

egradior, 20 " " 1 (?) " 11 "

ingredior, 3 " " 1 (?) " 6 "

progradior, 10 " " 3 " 0 "

41

14

41

adgradīmur, As. 680, R. 299.

agredībor, Pers. 15.

agrediri, Truc. 252, 461 (bacchiac).

adgradīrītēr, Merc. 248, R. 601.

congrēdi<ri>, Aul. 248, colon end.

degradire, Cas. 675 (Bentley; -ere, AB).

egradiri, Poen. 742 (-ier, B; see § 31).

ingredī<ri>, R. 667 (Seyffert), cretic.

progradīri, Cas. 862 (bacchiac).

progrēdi<ri>, Men. 754 (bacchiac).

prōgrēdīmīnō, Ps. 859.

(8) *impetro* shows first conjugation forms about 55 times.

īmpetrītum, As. 259 (B).

(9) *lauo*, -āre, 20.

lāuīs, Ps. 10 (ABCD).

lauit, Most. 111 (BCD).

lāuīt, Truc. 902 (BCD).

lauēre, Am. 1102 (Nonius, metre).

Doubtful is Truc. 323, *lauēre*, BD; cf. testimony of Varro. Perfect forms, 9;
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participle *lautus* 11. The supine is *lauatum* in Aul. 579, R. 382; and *lautum* in S. 568, 595. Counted twice, 2 forms; total 47. Add *elauī*, pf., As. 135, R. 579.

(10) *morior*, 5 forms of 3rd, 6 of 4th, 7 indeterminate.

<i>demorior</i> , 2	”	”	0	”	0	”	
<i>emorior</i> , 2	”	”	1	”	6	”	
9			7			13	

moriri, 5.

moreirei, R. 684.

emoriri, Ps. 1222.

(11) *oleo*, -ēre, 16.

subolet, 5.

olant, subj., Most. 278, Poen. 268, Frag. 70, Cornicula.

praeolat, subj., Mil. 41.

olēre, Most. 42.

Indeterminate, 8 (especially Most. 268 and 278). Total, 34.

(12) *pārērem*, Trin. 316.

pārēre, S. 166.

pārīturam, Am. 718 (so Leo, Lindsay).

parire, Vid. 116, Philargyrius.

Indeterminate (exclusive of pf. and pf. ppls.), 10.

(13) *pōtītur*, As. 324, Curc. 170.

pōtīremur, Am. 187.

potiri, R. 190.

potīrēt, As. 916.

_{7 8}

Indeterminate, 12.

(14) *praecellet*, pres. indic., Ps. 680; this verb occurs only here in Plautus; in other authors it is of the third conjugation.

(15) *scatet*, pres. indic., Pers. 177 (ABC; *scatit*, Leo).

scatat, pres. subj., Aul. 558 (Gulielmus; *scatet*, MSS., *scateat*, Donatus).

(16) *sordēre*, Truc. 379.

sōrdērē, Poen. 1179, anap. septen.

Add *sōrdebāmus*, Truc. 381 (A; *sōrderēmus*, reliqui).

(17) *ēxsugēbo sāguinēm*, E. 188 (iamb. octon.).

_{5 6 7 8}

sāguinem ēxsugām procūl, Poen. 614 (troch. septen.).

_{5 6 7 8}

(18) *tuendi*, Capt. 1008, indeterminate.

cōntūōr, As. 403, Pers. 208 (both at vs. end).

cōntūl, As. 124, 523, Most. 838 (all at vs. end).

intueor, etc., R. 449, Capt. 557, Truc. 599, B. 1130.
intuor, Most. 836.
⁷₈
 [intuitur, Capt. 557 (med. vs.), Bentley.]
obtuetur, etc., Mil. 1271, Most. 837, Am. 900, Most. 840.
optuere, B. 668, Most. 69 (med. vs.).

ACTIVE AND DEPONENT FORMS.

§ 46.—Seventy-six verbs show forms wavering between active and deponent or differing from the forms usual in other authors. The discussion in Langen, *Beiträge*, pp. 59–68, is confessedly only a supplement to a list given by Brix in his note on Mil. 172; but, even when taken together, these two lists are incomplete. In the following account strict alphabetical order is departed from occasionally for the sake of bringing together scattered forms.

- (1) *abusa*, passive (so Nonius), As. 196.
- (2) *adsentio*, R. 975.
adsentiant, Am. 824.
adsentior, deponent, Merc. 412.
- (3) *amplectitote*, R. 816.
circumplecte, As. 696.
amplexam, passive, Mil. 507.
 Deponent, 22.
- (4) *amplexabo*, Poen. 1230 (-*bor*, A only).
 Deponent, 17 (exclusive of gerund and act. ppl.).
- (5) *indipiscet*, Aul. 775.
indipiscet, As. 279.
apiscitur, passive, Trin. 367.
apiscor and compounds, deponent, 9 (exclusive of ppls.).
- (6) *arbitro*, Merc. 902, Mil. 561, Most. 91.
arbitrabunt, S. 144.
arbitrare, Ps. 1014.
arbitretur, passive, E. 267.
 Deponent, 88.
- (7) *aucupai*, Truc. 964.
aucupet, Mil. 995, Most. 473.
aucupemus, As. 881.
aucupa, Men. 570.
aucupatur, deponent, R. 1093 (see Leo's note).

- (8) *augura*, Cist. 694.
 (9) *auspicaui*, Pers. 689, R. 717, S. 502.
exauspicaui, Capt. 766.
auspicato, passive, Pers. 607.
redauspicandum, Capt. 767.
 (10) *bubulcitarier*, deponent, Most. 53.
 (11) *clueo*, etc., 16.
cluear, deponent, Ps. 918 (ABCD).
 (12) *commentum*, passive, Truc. 451; as a noun, postulating a passive
 Mil. 241.
comminiscor, deponent, 20.
 (13) *congraecem*, B. 743.
pergraecetur, B. 813, Truc. 87, b.
pergraecere, Poen. 603.
pergraecamini, Most. 22, 64.
pergraecari, Most 960.
 (14) *contemplo*, 11.
contemplor, Most. 831.
contemplabor, Cist. 702.
contemplemur, Pers. 548.
contemplarier, Poen. 1129.
 Cf. Most. 831, *Ut quicquid magis contemplor* (MSS.) *tanto magis placet*, and
 Pers. 564, *Edepol qui quom hanc magis contemplo* (BCD) *magis placet*.
 (15) *copulas*, Poen. 343.
copulat, Poen. 655.
copulari, passive, E. 401.
copulantur, deponent, Aul. 116.
 (16) *criminaret*, Ps. 493.
criminatust, deponent, B. 783.
 (17) *cunctas*, Cas. 792.
 (18) *deluctaui*, Trin. 839.
luctauimus, Vid. 102, Nonius.
deluctari, deponent, Pers. 4.
 (19) *despicatam*, passive, Cas. 189.
despicatur, deponent, Cas. 186.
 (20) *exorsa*, passive, B. 350.
 (21) *expecto*, 38.
expector, deponent, Trin. 675 (BCD).
 (22) *intricatum*, passive, Pers. 457.
extricabor, deponent, E. 152.
 (23) *perfabricauit*, Pers. 781.
fabricamini, Cas. 488.
fabricare, As. 102, B. 693.

- (24) *fabulem*, Mil. 371, 443.
fabulare, Truc. 182, 830.
fabulor, 51 ; *confabulor*, 3.
- (25) *fiere*, Mil. 1218 (B ; *fiere*<*i*>, Bergk ; cf. Ennius Ann. 8, *fierē*).
- (26) *fluctuat*, Merc. 890, R. 303.
fluctuare, R. 903.
- (27) *fraudo*, *defr(a)udo*, etc., 15.
frausūs sīt, As. 286.
7 8
- (28) *frustrant*, B. 548.
frustrari, passive, B. 548.
frustratur, Am. 830, As. 727.
frustramini, Most. 589.
frustrarier, Curc. 331.
defrustratur, Most. 944.
- (29) *adgredias*, Truc. 252 (BCD ; *adgrediri*, A and editors).
congredias, E. 543 (Nonius ; *congrediar*, B).
gradior and compounds, deponent, 91.
- (30) <*h*>or<*t*>at, As. 512 (Acidalius).
hortor, 11.
dehortor, 2.
- (31) *insectabit*, Capt. 593, Poen. 528.
insectatur, Cas. 662.
insectarer, R. 843.
insectatus est, Capt. 549.
insectatum esse, Capt. 552.
- (32) *irter*, R. 1242 ; cf. above, § 35.
5 6
- (33) *licuit*, Mil. 680, S. 540.
licitumst, Am. 617, As. 152, Cist. 227, E. 177, Men. 589, Trin. 566 ; *est licitum*, Men. 599.
- (34) *litigas*, Cas. 317, Poen. 798.
litigatis, R. 1060.
litigant, As. 914.
litigari, deponent, Merc. 421.
- (35) *lubuit*, E. 698, 699, Ps. 348, R. 587.
lubitum est, 9.
est lubitum, As. 711.
lubitum ertt, As. 110.
conlubitumst, 5.
conlubitum siet, Am. 858.

- (36) *ludificas*, etc., 12.
deludificavit, R. 147.
ludificor, passive, 14.
ludificor, deponent, 15.
deludificatust, Most. 1033, 1035.
eludificatust, Most. 1040.
- (37) *medicabo*, Most. 387.
medicari, Merc. 951.
- (38) *meditābo*[*r*] *me ad*, S. 306.
meditati sunt, passive, Ps. 941.
meditatum „ Trin. 817.
meditatam „ Mil. 903.
meditor, deponent, 11.
- (39) *mendicas*, Am. 1032.
mendicet, B. 508.
mendicare, Most. 230.
mendicārētr, Capt. prol. 13, Vid. 110, Nonius.
- (40) *mereo*, and compounds, 47.
 Passive, *mereor* and compounds, 8 ; *promeritum*, noun, Pers. 496, pre-supposes a passive.
mereor and compounds, deponent, 23.
- (41) *minitas*, Capt. 743.
minitabas, Am. frag. v, Nonius.
minitor, 19.
- (42) *miseret* and other active forms, 17. In Truc. 223, ABCD unite in reading *miserēri nōs*, but this must be changed to *miserērē nōs*, colon end of iamb. septen.
_{3 4} _{3 4}
se miseratur, E. 534.
miserantur, Vid. 111, Nonius.
miseritumst, Trin. 430.
me miserer, R. 197.
misereri, Cist. 457 (this verse is in A only).
misereri, Ps. 378 (ABCD).
- (43) *morigero*, Am. 981.
morigerari, Capt. 198.
- (44) *munerant*, Mil. 715.
munerem, Mil. 691, 695.
muneras, Capt. 935.
- (45) *nequeo*, *neque queo*, etc., approximately 54 ; *non queo*, 28. Of these note
ut nequitur comprimi, R. 1064 ;
retrahi nequitur, Frag. 112, Saturio, Festus ;
nec subigi queantur, Pers. 194 ; cf. Capt. 219, R. 1113, *queant*
 with deponent infinitive s.

- (46) *nicto*, Men. 613.
nictet, As. 784.
nictent, Merc. 407.
- (47) *nutrico*, Mil. 715.
nutricare, Merc. 509.
- (48) *oboriunt[ur]*, S. 165 (Lindsay).
oboriuntur, Curc. 309.
- (49) *obsono*, 15.
obsonatumst, etc., passive, 6.
obsonari, deponent, Aul. 295.
obsonatust, S. 681.
- (50) *odi*, Capt. 328, Most. 181, R. 920, Trin. 600.
ōsa sum ōptuérīér, Am. 900.
_{3 4 5 6}
- (51) *opino*, B. 18 (Nonius), 487 (Spengel), 511 (Weise), Cas. 541 (Bothe), E. 259 (Bothe), Pers. 343 (Lindsay), Poen. 1169 (Bothe, Gulielmus), 1268 (Bothe), Trin. 422 (Acidalius).

opinor, 87.
opinare, Capt. 619.
opinabar, Pers. 257.
opinātis fūī, Am. 186.
opinere, Poen. 527. Total 100.

<i>Opinor</i> at verse end	.	.	.	.	19
„ at colon end	.	.	.	.	21 (5 before vowels.)
„ before main caesura	.	.	.	.	20 (4 „ „)
„ before consonants elsewhere	.	.	.	.	18
„ before vowels elsewhere	.	.	.	.	9
					87 (18 before vowels.)

Lindsay says (*Ancient Editions of Plautus*, p. 106, footnote) "In fact we may be said to be more certain that Plautus used *opino* . . . than that he used *opinor* (e.g., Bacch. 155)." He is arguing from metrical considerations, and not from MS. traditions. Briefly, the facts are these:—

opino must be read in 9 out of 96 instances.

opinor „ „ „ 13 „ „ 96 „

Either form is possible, metrically, in 74.

- (52) *pacisce*, B. 866, 870, 871.
packast, etc., passive, 9; *compecto*, noun, Capt. 489, Ps. 540.
pacta's, deponent, Ps. 226.
pacisci, B. 865, Ps. 226.

Note the use of this verb as deponent in B. 865 by Chrysalus, and as active, in the very next line, by Nicobulus.

- (53) *palpatur*, Merc. 169.
palpabitur, Am. 507.
expalpábitúr, Vid. 115, Nonius.
subpalpártér, Mil. prol. 106.
- (54) *participat*, Cist. 165.
participant, S. 33.
participabo, Pers. 757.
participauerit, Mil. 263.
participari, deponent, Truc. 748.
- (55) *partiam*, As. 271, Mil. 707.
partite, Am. 1035.
- (56) *perscrutauit*, Aul. 657.
perscrutabor, Aul. 620.
perscrutatus es, Aul. 653.
scrutari, Aul. 651.
- (57) *est philosophatum*, passive, Ps. 687.
philosophatur, Capt. 284, Ps. 974.
philosophari, Merc. 147.
- (58) *placuit*, Poen. 1371, S. 762.
est placitum, Am. 635.
complacitumst, Am. prol. 106, R. 187.
- (59) *populabo*, Frag. 75, Faeneratrix, Diomedes.
- (60) *potiuit*, Am. 178.
compotiuit, R. 911.
potior, deponent, 15.
compotita sum, R. 205, b.
- (61) *praedatum irier*, R. 1242, passive, or is *irier* deponent? see above, § 35.
praedatus, etc., deponent, Pers. 608, 668, Ps. 1138, R. 1316.
- (62) *praesagibat*, Aul. 178.
praeságítúr, B. 679.
- (63) *praeuorto*, Mil. 653.
praeuortere, Ps. 293.
praeuortisse, Am. 528.
praeuortor, etc., 14.
- (64) *proficisco*, Mil. 1329 (BC).
proficiscor, etc. (not including ppl.), 17.
- (65) *pudeo*, Cas. 887.
puduit, As. 71.
puditumst, B. 379, Cas. 878.
- (66) *rurant*, Capt. 84.
- (67) *sciscitare*, Merc. 386.

- (68) *sorti*, Cas. 395, 413.
sortito, passive, Merc. 136, b.
sórtiár, Cas. 298, 342.
- (69) *est stipulatus*, Ps. 1069.
stipulari, Curc. 473.
stipularier, Ps. 1076.
- (70) *súspicó*, Men. 1081 (B¹CD¹).
suspices, Cas. 394 (Pylades).
suspícor, etc., 25.
- (71) *taedo*, Cas. frag., Cledonius.
taesumst, Most. 316.
- (72) *tumultuas*, Mil. 172.
tumultues, R. 629, 638.
tumultuari, Poen. 525.
- (73) *tutetis*, Merc. 865.
tutantur, passive, Am. 651.
tutor, etc., 8.
- (74) *uagas*, Mil. 424.
uagentur, Pers. 319.
- (75) *uēneo*, etc., 12.
uenear, Frag. Fab. Inc. 44, Diomedes.
ueniri, Pers. 577 (BCD). Cf. R. 1242 (above, § 35).
- (76) *uenero*, B. 173.
uenerem, Truc. 476.
ueneror, etc., 6.

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS.

§ 47.—*Variation in Vowels and Diphthongs.*

Only a few instances can be given here.

- uentrene*, Merc. 452 (*uenire ne*, MSS.).
séruiín, Men. 795 (BCD).
exicas, R. 122 (Turnebus; *exigas*, B).
uocent=*uacent*, Cas. 527 (MSS.), in a pun; cf. the adjective *uociuos*, Cas. 596 (A).
uorro, S. 375 (A); *reuorram* (ABCD) *quod conuerri* (ABCD), S. 389; forms with *ue-*, S. 351, R. 845.
uorto, etc., e.g. R. 165 (BCD), 1400 (BCD), S. 402 (ABCD), 414 (ABCD).
uoto, 17; *ueto*, 9.
exulatum, Merc. 593 (B), Most. 597 (A), Ps. 1035 (B), Trin. 535 (A); *exulatum*,

Merc. 981.

exsorgite, E. 733 (A).

abstoleras, Aul. 635 (BDE).

desuluerunt, R. prol. 75 (MSS.); *insuliamus*, Mil. 279 (BCD).

sacrificare, etc., e.g. Capt. 290 (MSS.), 862 (MSS.), R. 132 (C).

subrupui, -u- at least 19 times.

defrudo, etc., 9; *fraudo*, 7.

(ii) Diphthongs.

exquaero, Aul. 800 (Priscian), Ps. 450 (A), S. 107 (B); possibly also, for sake of assonance, in Capt. 251, 293.

admoeniui, Cist. 540 (MSS.); *admoenire*, Ps. 384 (A), 585 (BCD); *moeniti*, Capt. 254 (BDEJ); *mo<e>niendis*, Truc. 310 (BCD); *moenitum*, B. 926 (B); *minitum*, E. 530 (MSS.); cf. Pers. 553, 554, 559, Mil. 223, 228.

ausculo, etc.: B. 478 (*auscultantem*, A), 897 (*auscultatur*, BCD), Cas. 133 (Müller, to bring out the pun), Merc. 571 (CD; *auscultare*, B), 575 (BCD). Note Cas. 133:—

Unde aúscultáre póssis, quóm ego illam aúsculér.

The diphthong -ei. The testimony of A on this point is of varying value.

(i) In root syllables.

deico and its derivatives, 20 instances,—14 of them in the Menaechmi (*deixei*, Men. 591, A).

eicit, Mil. 205 (A).

eire, etc., 33. For this word the testimony is not so closely confined to the readings of A. In the imperative *ei* frequently appears as *et*, and other similar mistakes occur. Merc. 749, *abii*, B¹; *abi*, BD¹; *abei*, C,—three instances in one verse.

moreirei, R. 684 (B).

poteirier?, As. 916 (*potierier*, BDE).

propeino, S. 425 (A).

suppeiles, As. 815 (*suppelles*, BDEJ).

ueisse, R. 567 (A).

ueino, Merc. 471 (A).

ueiuimus ueitalem aeuom, Poen. 1187 (A).

(ii) In final syllables.

(a) Present Indicative Active.

sceis, etc., 9; usually by testimony of A, but sometimes inverted into *scies* by BCD.

ueis, etc., 11.

(b) Future Indicative.

curabeis, Merc. 526 (A).

ibeis, Cas. 92 (A).

orasseis, E. 728 (A).

(c) Future Perfect.

comédērets, Men. 521 (A).

reubrētērets, Men. 256 (A).

(d) Present Subjunctive.

seis = *sis*, Merc. 550 (A), 552 (A), 779 (A).

[*seis* = *si uis*, Merc. 777, A.]

ueleis, Merc. 775 (A), vs. end (cf. Pers. 601 *uelts et*).

(e) Perfect Indicative.

abstinei, Am. 926 (*abstines*, MSS.).

aduexei, Merc. 391 (A).

dedei, Men. 535 (A).

deixei, Men. 591 (A).

duxei, Men. 117 (A).

emei, Merc. 500 (A).

metuei, Poen. 1378 (A).

periei, S. 497 (A).

reddidei, B. 530 (A).

uidei, Cist. 547 (VE).

dixtei, Merc. 754 (A).

nostei, Men. 294 (A).

neglexeit, Merc. 86 (Koch).

redieit, Merc. 530 (A).

(f) Passive Forms.

pergraecaminei, Most. 22 (BCD).

sequiminei, Merc. 782 (A).

amplexarei, Poen. 1301 (A).

darei, Merc. 777 (A), 778 (A), R. 1292 (BCD).

deasciarei, Mil. 884 (Bugge).

experirei, Merc. 769 (A).

fruniscei, R. 1012 (A).

moderarei, Pers. 297 (A).

moreirei, R. 684 (B).

prólōquet, Men. 252 (A).

CONSONANTS.

§ 48.—*Variation in Consonants.*

Here, also, it is possible to list only a few instances.

réc<c>lustt, Capt. 918.

aussim, Merc. 301 (A).

demissero, R. 791 (A).

excissos, Most. 826 (A).

incusses, Most. 713 (A); *accusites*, Most. 712 (A).

pertussum, Ps. 369 (BCD; -s-, A).

quaesso, Men. 230 (A), Ps. 1322 (A), Vid. 39.

uisso, Ps. 1063 (A).

uisse, E. 712 (B), Truc. 198 (BCD).

Cf. *ussurae*, Trin. 181 (A).

nollo, S. 631 (BC), 720 (BCD), 734 (BCD).

narauisti, Vid. 70.

narem, Truc. 722 (BCD).

dispennite, Mil. 1407 (Nonius).

distennite, Mil. 1407 (Meursius).

Cf. *socienno*, Aul. 659 (Nonius); *unne*, Truc. 62 (B).

neglegere, Poen. 823 (B); elsewhere *negl-*, in nouns and verbs, 7.

gnatus, as ppl., 15 (assonance with *genere* in the same verse, 4; with *progignetur*, 1).

gnosco, etc., at least 6 times.

aiio, see under § 43.

baiiolare, Merc. 508 (A); cf. *baiiolum*, Poen. 1301 (Löwe; *baiolum*, BCD; *baiolum*, A).

mostro, etc., 7; add the title *Mostellaria*.

locuntur, B. 801 (BCD).

sum eloqutus, Merc. 155 (*eloquius*, B).

quoquetur, Men. 214 (*quog-*, BCD).

sequuntur, Poen. 1374 (A).

exsolatum, Merc. 593 (B).

exurrexi, Ps. 1272 (BCD), R. 915 (BC).

exicas, R. 122 (Turnebus; *exigas*, B).

QUANTITY.

§ 49.—*Final Syllables in -t.*(i) Final *-āt*.

This length is so perfectly certain that we hardly ought to doubt that such a passage as Pers. 826, *fāciebāt in Iōniā* ought to be read with *-āt*, rather than with

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the questionable division of the ictus-part of the foot. However, in the following lists, I have given, first, instances that admit of no other explanation ; and, secondly, instances that might be explained as division of thesis, syllaba anceps at colon end or at change of speaker, etc., even though I believe they are better explained as true instances of archaic long vowels.

Present Indicative	.	.	6	sure,	8	probable.
Imperfect	„	.	2	„	2	„
Present Subjunctive	.	.	1	„	5	„
			9		15	

Add *dāt*, Men. 101, Most. 601 (Lindsay in Archiv L. L., xi. 127).

(ii) Final *-ēt*.

Present Indicative	.	.	12	sure,	16	probable.
Future	„	.	1	„	4	„
Present Subjunctive	.	.	3	„	4	„
Imperfect	„	.	1	„	3	„
			17		27	

Pers. 327 has *dēt*.

(iii) Final *-īt*.

Present Indicative	.	.	10	sure,	4	probable.
Future	„	.	1	„	1	„
Perfect	„	.	20	„	8	„
Future Perf.	„	.	0	„	1	„
Present Subjunctive	.	.	4	„	3	„
Perfect	„	.	1	„	3	„
			36		20	

Of these note

facti inprobē, Truc. 555 (so Lindsay, who makes the verse bacchiac). Cf. *facīs*, Am. 555, and *factmus* (usually changed to *faxtmus*), Truc. prol. 60.

pērcipīt insāniā, Men. 921, troch. septen. Cf. *accipīs*, S. 615.

uēnibīt uxōr, Men. 1160, troch. septen.

lūbitum erīt animō, As. 110, iamb. sen. Cf. *erts*, Trin. 971.

sī ērīt occāsio, Capt. 209, anap. septen.; so Götz-Schöll, but Leo and Lindsay make the line a troch. octon., with *erīt*.

ōbtigerīt herēditās (future perfect), Truc. 344, iamb. sen.

Note, further, Poen. 1200, iamb. septen.,

Nunc hīnc sapīt, hīnc sēntit qulcquid sāpīt ex.

In Merc. 530 we get *redieit*, iamb. septen., at vs. end however.

§ 50.—*Final -ōr -ār, -īs.*(i) *Final -ōr.*

Present Indicative . . .	10 sure,	19 probable.
Future „ . . .	0	1
	10	20

Of these 30, 20 are of the first conjugation, 6 of the second, 3 of the third, and 1 of the fourth. This uneven distribution is probably only accidental, and not significant.

(ii) *Final -ār.*

Future Indicative . . .	1 sure,	6 probable.
Present Subjunctive . . .	3 „	1 „
	4	7

(iii) *Final -īs.*

Present Indicative . . .	3 sure,	1 probable.
Future „ . . .	1 „	3 „
Future Perfect . . .	2 „	3 „
Present Subjunctive . . .	3 „	0 „
Perfect „ . . .	2 „	2 „
	11	9

Of these note

⁵*accip̄ts* ⁶*habeds* ⁷*tib̄t*, S. 615, troch. septen. Cf. *percip̄t*, Men. 921.

⁵*qūbd* ⁶*cup̄ts* ⁷*eff̄cerō*, Curc. 363, troch. septen. Cf. *cup̄ret*, Lucretius i. 72.

¹*fact̄s* ²*ūt* ³*tuls*, Am. 555, bacchiac verse. Cf. *fac̄t*, Truc. 555 (bacchiac, and *fact̄mus*, Truc. prol. 60 (or *fax̄imus*?).

⁴*im̄quam* ⁵*er̄ts* ⁶*auro* ⁷*hulc* ⁸*quid̄m*, Trin. 971, troch. septen. Cf. *er̄t*, As. 110 (and *er̄ts*?. # *Ubi*, As. 110).

cur̄d̄beis, Merc. 526 (A).

ib̄eis, Cas. 92 (A).

or̄ds̄seis, E. 728 (A).

⁴*com̄ed̄r̄ēts*, Men. 521 (A).

⁵*reūort̄r̄ēts* (fut. pf.), Men. 256 (A).

§ 51.—Fierem, fūi, *etc.*

<i>fieres,</i>	at vs. end,	Trin. 644.
<i>fieret,</i>	” ”	Am. 487, B. 788.
<i>fierent</i>	” ”	Capt. 998, Poen. 788.
<i>fieri</i>	” ”	20.
<i>calefieri</i>	” ”	E. 655 (as two words, BJ).
<i>interfieri,</i>	” ”	Trin. 532.

Total at vs. end, 27

Am. 567, *fieri*, bacchiac verse.

Most. 722, *fiert*, cretic verse.

Poen. 1056, *fieri*, iamb. sen.

Total medio uersu, 3.

In Aul. 405 we get *flāt*₆; Merc. 844 *flāt*₈ or *flēt*₈; Mil. 492 *flāt*₆ (B); Mil. 595, *flāt*₆, A (*fuam*, B¹CD); Trin. 594 *flāt*₆, D (*fuat*, BC); Aul. 426 *fiat* (BD); Ps. 1029 *flānt*₆ (all but B, which has *fuant*);—but these are all changed to *fuat* or *fuant* by editors, to avoid the scansion *fla(n)t*. Cf. B. 155, 156, *fiam ūt* . . . *fūām*₆; Merc. 446, 700, Pers. 479, and below, § 58 (vi).

fūi, R. 217 bis (troch. octon.).

fūi, R. 1389 (troch. septen.).

fūit, Capt. 555 (troch. septen.).

fūit, Pers, 168 (anap. octon.).

fūit, R. 1105 (troch. septen.).

fūtmūs, Capt. 262 (troch. septen.).
_{7 8}

fūerunt, B. 1087 (anap. septen.).

fűérít, fut. pf., As. 782 (iamb. septen.).

fűérím, Mil. 1364 (troch. septen.).

fűérínt, Poen. prol. 110 (iamb. sen.).

fuisse, Mil. 776 (troch. septen.).

Note Capt. 555, fuit *atque* is profuit.

§ 52.—*Miscellaneous Quantity.*

-ērunt or *-ērunt*, see § 9.

zero, see § 14.

-i- in future perfect, see § 18.

-i- in perfect subjunctive, see § 26.

facē, comminiscerē, see § 29.

fingerē, etc., see § 30.

uénimās, Curc. 438. Cf. Jacobsohn, p. 5.

³*ās*, etc., see § 43.

On the measurement of compounds of *iacio* in Plautus, see M. W. Mather, Harvard Studies VI, 130-132.

institūi, Most. 86, bacchiac verse.

plāērāt, Men. 63, prol.

⁵*prōfītēri*, Men. 643 ; ⁴*prōfītētur*, Capt. 480.

prōfēctū<ru>s, Trin. 149.

²*rēuortīmīni*, Am. 689.

SYNCOPE, ETC.

§ 53.—*Iurīgo*, *porrīgo*, *purīgo*, etc.

(i) *Iurīgo*.

iūrigāndumst, Merc. 119 (B).

obiūr<ī>gēm, Trin. 68 (Ritschl).

⁵*obiūr<ī>gēm*, Trin. 70 (Ritschl).

⁵*obiūr<ī>gāre*, Merc. 46 (Ritschl).

In B. 1020 we may read *Me obiūr<ī>gāuit* (Ritschl), or *Me<d>ōbiurgāuit* (MSS.).

The syncopated forms are found six times:—Am. 706, Curc. 171, Merc. 321, 322, Trin. 96, 680.

(ii) *Porrīgo*.

pōrge, Ps. 708 (*proge*, A ; *por cl-*, B).

³*pōrge*, Merc. 883 (Leo, Lindsay ; *porrige*, MSS.).

pōrgite, E. 733 (Götz ; *purgite*, A).

⁴*expōrgi*, Ps. prol. 1 (A).

(iii) *Purīgo*.

pūr<ī>gās, Merc. 738 (Ritschl).

⁵*pūr<ī>gānt*, Aul. 753 (Ritschl).

⁷*expūr<ī>gābo*, Cist. 304 (Ritschl).

¹*expūr<ī>gēs*, Mil. 497 (Ritschl).

⁵*expūr<ī>gāre*, Capt. 620 (Ritschl).

expūr<ī>gāre, Cist. 453 (Studemund).

expūr<ī>gāre, Mil. 497 (Ritschl).

expūr<ī>gāre, Mil. 517 (Ritschl).

perpūr<ī>gātis . . . aūrībūs, Mil. 774 (Fleckeisen).

Cf. *expūr<ī>gātiōnem*, Am. 965 (Ritschl), Merc. 960 (Ritschl).

The syncopated forms, are found six times :—Am. 909, 946, Aul. 791, Cas. 944, Cist. 302, Poen. 1410. Add *pūrgtāns*, Cist. 384 (Nonius).

(iv) *Surripui, reccidi, repperi, reppuli, rettuli*, see § 16.

(v) *cauisse*, dissyllabic, B. 1017 ; trisyllabic, Am. 944.
obliuiscendi, quadrisyllabic (*obliscendi*, Leo), Mil.⁹1359 (BCD).

COMPOUNDS.

§ 54.—Compounds of facio.

(i) Iambic shortening possible.

cālēfacio and derivatives

commōnēfaciam, S. 63.

lābēfacto, Merc. 403.

mādēfactatis, Ps. 184.

permādēfēcit, Most. 143.

pāiēfeci, Most. 1046.

perpāuēfaciam, S. 85.

(ii) Quantity of -e- indeterminate.

cāndefācere, Most. 259.

fēruēfāciunt, Ps. 833.

frīgefāctas, Poen. 760, R. 1326.

(iii) *E* shown to be long.

contabēfācti, Ps. 21.

expergēfāctis Curc. 198.

perfrīgēfācti, Ps. 1215.

putēfacit, Most. 112, cretic verse (*putrefacit*, MSS.).

(iv) *olfactare*, etc., Men. 163, 167, 169.

(v) *compendi facio* has been described as a compound ; for this we can list *compendi fācē*, Most. 60 ; *compendi fēci*, Pers. 471 ; and *compendi fācere*, Truc. 377.

On the other hand, *facio* precedes *compendi* in 4 places, and is otherwise separated

from it in B. 183,—so the two words cannot be looked upon as making a compound. The acc. *compendium* occurs with *facio* 4 times, and 4 times with other verbs.

(vi) *satis faciat*, Am. 889.

satis fecit, As. 437.

fecisse satis, As. 437.

facturum satis, As. 497.

(vii) That *bene facio* and *male facio* are not true compounds, is shown not only by the failure of the *-a-* to weaken to *-i-*, but by such expressions as *bene quae in me fecerunt*, Am. 184; *faciunt bñé*, Men. 1021; *bene et male facere*, B. 655; *ad malé faciundum*, E. 378, colon end of iamb. septen., *malé* with syllaba anceps. Cf. Trin. 328, 633, Poen. 1212.—There are at least 40 places where the adverb does not directly precede the verb. There is a nest of instances in Truc. 465–470.

The same is true of *bene dico* and *male dico*; e.g. *Té potiús bene dicere aéquomst hómini amíco quám malé*, Trin. 924 (with this compare Truc. 469, *Múliert nímíó male fácere mélius ópus est quám bené*); *maleque dictis*, B. 982; *dicturúm malé*, Trin. 71. Add B. 118, 464, Ps. 521, S. 469.

§ 55.—Compounds of eo.

(i) *circūmís*, R. 140.

circumít, As. 742, Truc. 407.

circumímus, Men. 231.

circumíriér, Curc. 451.

circ(um) íre, Ps. 899.

(ii) *intro íre*, and not *introire*, is the prevailing usage.

(a) Such expressions as *ite intro*, *ibo intro*, are common.

(b) *Intro* is frequently separated from the verb by other words, and may precede or follow it, e.g.

intro te ut eas, Mil. 1385.

intro quin eam, Cist. 117. Similarly, *intro . . . mittar*, Truc. 732.

ite . . . intro, Aul. 451.

ibo . . . intro, Am. 1145.

(c) When *intro* directly precedes the verb, the *-o* is prevailingly elided (not so in Mil. 1168, at main caesura). A good instance is Merc. 567, at verse end, *intr(o) éás*.

(d) Rarely the two words seem to make a compound:—

introibis, or *intro | ibis*, B. 907, Men. 662.

introieris, Merc. 570 (read *illo* or *illuc*?).

introierit, Trin. prol. 10.

The instances are so few, as compared with the others, that it is probably better to think of hiatus here, than of true compounds.

§ 56.—*Miscellaneous.*

animus aduerto is not a compound, for we find
aduorto preceding *animus*, 11 times ;
animus separated from *aduorto*, 2 instances : As. 732, *Animus, Argyrippe, aduerte*, and Am. prol. 38, *animus omnes quae loquar aduertite*.
animus aduerto, side by side in this order, approximately 42 instances.
 Curious is Merc. 15, *Atque aduertendum ad animus adest benignitas*. Trin. 1046 gives *Non hoc publice animus aduerti*. Mil. 39 is not included in the above enumeration, for it is not quite like the rest : *Facite aduerti tuum animus ad animus meum*.

nequeo, etc., 49.

neque . . . queo, 5.

nón quēb, etc., at vs. end, 11 (*nónqueb*, as one word, Men. 1124, B).

non queo, med. vs., 17 (*noenum . . . queo*, Aul. 67–69 ; cf. Aul. 74–76).

distraxissent disquē tulissent, Trin. 833, anap. octon.

ne facere si uelim (*ne . . . uelim*) ?, Truc. 877.

super illi fuerit, Curc. 85.

Tmesis occurs, to a moderate extent, in other parts of speech also.

§ 57.—*Prepositions in Compounds.*

These would more properly be treated under prepositions than here with verbs ; a few forms only will be mentioned now.

antideo, B. 1089, Cas. 225, Cist. 205, Pers. 779, Ps. 933, Trin. 546.

aps-, e.g. Men. prol. 66, 166, 476, 833.

assum, Capt. 978 (BE), Poen. 279 (shown by pun).

dehibuitsti, Trin. 426 (AB).

exhibit, Mil. 832 (*exiuit*, BD ; *exiuit*, C).

exducier, Truc. 908 (BCD).

exferri, Merc. 423 (B).

exfodio, Aul. 709 (BD).

exfringam, Mil. 1250 (B).

exfregisti, B. 586 (B).

exlocuta's, Mil. 906 (BCD).

<ex>*migrasti*, Men. 822 (added from 823, metri gratia).

exmigrasti<s>, Men. 823 (B ; add. Acidalius).

exmouetis, Ps. 144 (A).

exmouit, Truc. prol. 78 (BC).

exuellam, Truc. 288 (Scaliger).

indaudio, etc., -*d-* in MSS., Capt. prol. 30, Merc. 941, 944, S. 77; -*d-* shown by metre only, Aul. 266, Mil. 211, 442, Most. 542.

ogganiam, As. 422 (B).

oggerit, Cist. 70 (B), Truc. 103 (BCD).

oggerunt, Ps. 812 (BCD).

praehibeo or *praebeo*? The evidence points clearly to *praehibeo*.

praei, monosyllabic, R. 1335.

praeoptauisse, etc., -*aeo-* one syllable, Capt. 688, Trin. 648.

prehendo or *prendo*? *prehen-* is needed metrically in 9 instances, and is possible in the remaining 5 or 6 instances of this word.

susfuror, Truc. 566 (BCD).

susscribam, Poen. 800 (BCD).

sussilite, Curc. 151 (BEJ).

sussultas, Capt. 637 (BE).

Cf. *sum manus*, Pers. 450 (BC); add E. 108, Merc. 962.

súpterduxerit, As. 278 (BD, separatim).

súptérfugisse, B. 771 (B, separatim).

subter- in composition, Capt. 970, Men. 449, Merc. 195, Mil. 343.

subter as a preposition is not found in Plautus.

tramittas, E. 155 (AB²), 463 (AB).

trauolauerunt, E. 35 (B).

trauorsis, Pers. 444 (codd. Lambini et Scaligeri).

trans- in composition, 8.

trans as a preposition, *twice* only: Merc. 354, *trans mare asportet*, and Mil. 468, *transtinet trans parietem*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

§ 58.—*Miscellaneous Verb Forms.*

(i) 'Please.'

si audes, Poen. 757, Trin. 244.

sodes, B. 837, Men. 545, Pers. 318, Trin. 562.

audeo, to be willing, 12.

sis, parenthetical, approximately 129 instances (Merc. 777, *seis*, A).

sis=*si uis*, but not used parenthetically, As. 309, *sis subuenire* . . . *adest*, and As. 683, *sis sospitare* . . . *da*.

sultis, 13; in Ps. 1334 it is not used parenthetically, but governs *adplaudere* (so Hermann,—*sed uoltis*, MSS.).

amabo, used by a woman, 91 instances; used by a man, 9 (?).

(ii) Voice.

On *coepta*, *nequitur*, *licitumst*, etc., see § 12. On certain participles, see § 36.

meditábor [*me*]⁴ *ád*, or *meditábo*[*r*]⁴ *me* *ád*, S. 306.

se conuortitur, Am. 238 (Nonius); *te conuortes*, R. 999.

(iii) Varia.

domi domatus, Men. 105 (so Lindsay, *Cl. Rev.* xii. 232; *domitus* MSS.).
ma-m-ma-madere, Most. 319, 331; cf. R. 528-538, as given by Sonnenschein.
nefaceres, Ps. 437 (D).
nefacere, Truc. 877 (*re facere*, BC); cf. §§ 42 ad fin., 56 ad fin.
neparcunt, Most. 124 (B²D).
recharmida, Trin. 977 (MSS.; see Leo's note).
tua re feceris, Capt. 296; cf. Men. 661, Capt. 959.
spicit, Mil. 694 (ABCD); *specimen specitur*, B. 399 (BCD), Cas. 516 (BVE).

(iv) Puns.

Puns and assonance are very frequent; only a few examples can be quoted here.

Curc. 553, 554, *uale, aegrota*; cf. Truc. 259, 260, *salve, aegrotare malim*.
 Ps. 273, *Quid agitur?* # *Amatur atque egetur acriter*; cf. Ps. 457, Pers. 208.
 Curc. 314, *Facite uentum ut gaudeam*.
 Mil. 33, 34 *auribus Per<h>aurienda*; cf. B. 276, *audi, haud au(i)di*.
 Poen. 279, *Assum apud te eccum*. # *At ego elixus sis uolo*.

R. 1224-1226, *infelicit, licentia, licet*. The matter of quantity must not be pressed in Latin puns. Cf. Curtius Rufus, 10. 9. 4 *caliganti*, with probable reference to Caligula.

Two more may be mentioned, Aul. 635, *tibi*, and Aul. 737, 754, *illam*.

(v) Syntax.

Fortasse, ilicet, scilicet and *uidelicet*, though they show no aberration in form have the peculiarity of appearing occasionally with distinct verbal function, governing an infinitive, or taking an accusative of limit of motion. So are found:—

fortasse, As. 36, B. frag. xxi, E. 296, Merc. 782, Poen. 1004, Truc. 680; otherwise used, 14 instances.

ilicet, Capt. 90, 469; otherwise used, 7 times.

scilicet, As. 787, Curc. 263, Ps. 1179, R. 395; otherwise used, 10 (11?) instances.

uidelicet, As. 599, S. 555, 557; otherwise used, 3 times.

(vi).—Parallel or similar forms occur frequently in the same verse, or in close connection one with another. The following list is grouped roughly to show related matters.

Men. 1009, *defendam et subuenibo*.

Merc. 546, *recolam et seruibo*.

Pers. 15, *congregiar...adgredibor*.

Mil. 1365-67, *scibis...scies*.

Pers. 218-19, *scies...scibis*.

Mil. 1365, *facies...scibis*.

B. 848-49, *faxo...fecero*.

- Frag. 77, *Fretum, fecero...faxo.*
 Poen. 1191, *faciet...faxo.*
 Capt. 695, *faxis...feceris.*
 Aul. 788-89, *faxint...faciant.*
 S. 149, *celabo...celassis.*
 Merc. 658, *dixisti...dixti.*
 Capt. 703, 704, *uotuin...uota[]sti.*
 B. 865-66, *pacisci...pacisce.*
 Cas. 186-89, *despiciatur...habet despiciatam.*
 Cas. 877-78, *pudeo...pudet.*
 Most. 468, *attigatis . tangit.*
 ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶
 Truc. 276, *attigas...tangam.*
 R. 124, *dice. # dlc.*
 ³ ⁴
 Mil. 881, *monerier...commoneri.*
 Truc. 753, *experiri...experiri<er>.*
 Men. 341, *sit...siet.*
 Trin. 694, *sit...siet.*
 E. 574-75, *sit...siet.*
 Trin. prol. 6, *sim...siet.*
 Pers. 237, *sis...siem.*
 R. 1381, *sis...siem.*
 Poen. 1200, *sapit...sapit.*
 Capt. 555, *fuit...profuit.*
 Men. 308, *habes (= habitas)...habitant.*

From Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Sept. 1904, p. xl, Dr. M. C. Welles, I quote Truc. 265-66 *loqui...dico*, and Am. 1089-91, *dicere...loquere*. To Dr. Welles' list of instances in Plautus of *futurum* or *fore* parallel with some form of *fio* (ibid. pp. xxxviii, xxxix) add the following finite forms:—

- B. 155-56, *fiam...fuam.*
 Merc. 446, *fuit...fiet.*
 Merc. 700, *fiet...fuit.*
 Pers. 479, *fiet...fuit.*

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 April 10, 1906.

THE HOMERIDAE.

THE Homeridae bear the name of Homer, and should point a path by which we may climb to his personality. In antiquity they were known to be a γένος, a constituted family-corporation, though the accounts of the functions they fulfilled are scanty. Modern criticism, with its usual fluctuation, began by taking them at their apparent value; then adopted from a Roman grammarian a rationalistic explanation of them; invented other similar rationalistic explanations; and finally my lamented colleague Mr. Binning Monro robbed them of all significance by treating the word as an adjective, an equivalent of 'Ομηρικοί.¹ Men who are called Sons of Homer should not be lightly dismissed, and it may be worth while to go over the familiar evidence once more in the hope that this obvious avenue to Homer may not turn out a blind alley.

Their first appearance in literature is in Pindar, (1) *Nem.* ii. init. 'As the Sons of Homer, singers of stitched lays, begin for the most part from a preface (προοιμίον) to Zeus, so my client has won his first victory in the grove of Nemean Zeus.' Pindar equates the Rhapsodes and the Sons of Homer, and represents them as reciting Homer's verses with a prelude often, but not invariably, to Zeus.

The next mentions are in the fourth century philosophers Plato and Isocrates. (2) Plato *Rep.* 599 E. 'Does any state allow that Homer was its lawgiver? No,' says Glaucon, 'even the Sons of Homer do not say that.' The Sons of Homer then had some title to speak on his behalf, some authority to do their best for their parent, had perhaps the real tradition. (3) *Ion* 530 C. The rhapsode, Socrates says, should also interpret his poet. Yes, replies Ion, and this is my accomplishment: οἶμαι κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν περὶ Ὅμηρον, ὥς οὔτε Μητρόδωρος ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὔτε Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος οὔτε Γλαύκων οὔτε ἄλλος οὔδεις τῶν πώποτε γενομένων. So well do I adorn Homer ὥστε οἶμαι ὑπὸ Ὅμηριδῶν ἄξιός εἶναι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι. The Sons of Homer then have a position which authorises them to reward persons who honour their parents. They are not private individuals like Metrodorus, Stesimbrotus, Glaucon, or Ion himself. (3) *Phaedrus* 252 B. The Sons of Homer from their recondite verses recite two upon Love: λέγουσι δὲ οἶμαί τινες Ὅμηριδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα, ὃν τὸ ἕτερον ὑβριστικὸν πάνυ καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τι ἔμμετρον ὑμνοῦσι δὲ ὧδε

τὸν δ' ἦτοι θνητοὶ μὲν Ἔρωτα καλοῦσι ποτηρόν,
ἀθάνατοι δὲ Πτέρωτα, διὰ πτερόφοιτον ἀνάγκην.

¹ D. B. Monro, *Homer's Odyssey*, xiii.-xxiv. (1901) pp. 398 sq.

The Sons of Homer then had a store of verses not accessible to all the world: ἀπόθετα must have this meaning. It nearly amounts to ἀπόρρητα.¹ The lines themselves have a hymnal ring; the earthly and the divine name of Love, and the etymology of the latter suggest the non-Homeric hymns.² Plato, it is true, elsewhere (*Sympos.* 177 B) says there was no hymn to Ἔρως; but as we know from Pausanias (ix. 27. 2) that both Pamphos and Orpheus wrote one, we must suppose Plato ignored them or forgot them, when he wrote *The Symposium*. Again the Sons of Homer are not the vulgar; they have arcana.³

(4) Isocrates *Helena* § 64. Helen ἐνεδέλξατο καὶ Στησιχόρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν . . . (§ 65) λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστάσα τῆς νυκτὸς Ὀμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν. As in (2) the Sons of Homer were entitled to speak for their parent and his qualities, here they vouch for the apparition of Helen to his successor, as late too as 611 B.C. From these fifth and fourth century mentions of the Homeridae, it is plain that they are not private persons, people interested in Homer, students like Theagenes, Stesimbrotus or Metrodorus—not Ὀμηρικοί. This term in Aristotle *Met.* 1093 a 26 (ὅμοιοι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὁμηρικοῖς, οἱ μικρὰς ὁμοιότητος ὀρῶσι, μεγάλας δὲ παρορῶσι) means commentators, paraphrasers, philologists. In Strabo the same word means the scientific critic, Aristarchus, or Strabo himself (339 οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι . . . οἱ δ' Ὀμηρικώτεροι τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες; 3 βέλτιον δ' Ἡράκλειτος καὶ ὁμηρικώτερος, 'a sounder interpretation'); Seleucus, the grammarian, who derived Homer from ὁμηρος a hostage, ἐπεκλήθη Ὀμηρικός (Suidas): a synonym is οἱ περὶ Ὀμηρον δεινοί, exegetes (Plato *Cratylus* 407 A). The patronymic on the contrary appears always to imply a literal or figurative descendant, and in the latter sense one instinct with his spiritual father's nature, an artist not a commentator. Even in its widest extension (see Philostratus *infra*) it means an epic poet.

The Homeridae then in the earlier centuries were distinguished from laymen and critics such as Heraclitus and Theagenes by reciting Homer with preludes to Zeus and other gods, by preserving the correct tradition about Homer and his successors, by possessing a body of recondite verse, and by issuing rewards to benefactors of their parent. The last three of these qualities are the distinguishing marks of those corporations, united by blood or adoptive relation, which the Greeks called γένη.⁴ The function of ἐξηγηταί, expounders of sacred history and ritual, which (2) and (4) suggest, was performed at Athens by Eumolpidae, at Miletus by Sciridae; the 'hymn to Eros' in the Phaedrus reminds us of the hymns 'written for' the Lycomidae, the Apolline gens of Phlya (Paus. ix. 27. 2); rewards, whether

¹ Athenaeus 669 B repeats it from this place: Himerius *or.* iii. 2 (in Bergk, *P.L.G.* iii. p. 287) has ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος, an affectation for 'the less-known places of Anacreon': Plutarch, *v. Crassi* 16 ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀπὸς ἀποθέτους καὶ παλαιὰς τοιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν, *J. Caes.* 35 ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων χρήματα λαμβάνειν: more in the *Lexx.*

² Orpheus *frs.* 39, 40, 44, 140, 164, 165 Abel.

³ The 'metrical irregularity' δὲ Πτέρωτα seems sufficient without an alteration of the text; the 'outrage,' I presume, is the deriving of Cupid, a liberty which his dam Aphrodite had endured before him.

⁴ My information on this subject comes from Dittenberger's article, *Hermes*, xx. pp. 1 *sq.*; and Toepffer's *Attische Genealogie*, 1889.

crowns, statues, or decrees, were the commonest sign of a guild's activity (Toepffer, p. 21; e.g. Eumolpidae, Dittenberger *Syll.* 605, 651; *C.I.A.* ii. 605; 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1883, No. 82; Euthalidae in Rhodes, Ditt. 648; the Κήρυκες, *ib.* 450; the Σαλαμίνιοι, Toepffer, p. 288).

We may now continue our list of ancient mentions of the Homeridae. (5) Strabo 645. ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ Ὀμήρου Χῖοι, μαρτύριον μέγα τοὺς Ὀμηρίδας καλουμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου γένους προχειριζόμενοι, ὧν καὶ Πίνδαρος μέμνηται (he then quotes *Nem.* ii. init. as above). Strabo interpreted the word as a patronymic, as meaning the rhapsodes with whom Pindar equated it, and as descendants of Homer. Homer was worshipped with ceremony, in the neighbouring and rival state of Smyrna (Strabo 646 ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ ξόανον, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμά τι χαλκοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὀμήρειον λέγεται¹), and at Argos (Aelian *V.H.* ix. 15). That no γένος of Homer is asserted to have existed at Smyrna or Argos (or anywhere else) tends to confirm the statement about Chios. Strabo's account is corroborated by the logographers and critics quoted by (6) Harpocration s.v. . . . Ὀμηρίδαι γένος ἐν Χίῳ ὅπερ Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν γ' [fr. 31] Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῇ Ἀτλαντιάδι [fr. 55] ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ φησὶν ὠνομάσθαι. Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν β' βίων ἀμαρτάνειν φησὶ Κράτητα νομίζοντα ἐν ταῖς ἱεροποιαῖς Ὀμηρίδας ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὠνομάσθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμήρων. The opinion of antiquity, therefore, from the fifth century B.C. to the first A.D., was that the Homeridae were a Chian sacral family descended from the poet. The logographers, Acusilaus and Hellanicus, Crates, the head of the Pergamene school, the historian Strabo (himself the disciple of Tyrannio and of Aristodemus, the pupil of Aristarchus) affirmed this. The references in the fourth century Plato and Isocrates fall in with it. Only the first century A.D. grammarian innovated by reading ὁμηρος as a common noun.

If the sons of Homer were a γένος, what were their functions? The ancient view of this is given in the scholia on Pind. *Nem.* l.c. (7) Ὀμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου γένους, οἳ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦδον μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψωδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐπιβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος Χῖος, δς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὀμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραμμένον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποιηκέναι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐραψώδησε τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Ἰππόστρατός φησιν (*F.H.G.* iv. 432; Susemihl *Litt. Alex.* ii. 390). The scholion continues with opinions on the etymology of ῥαψωδός, taken from Dionysius of Argos (unknown), Philochorus (fr. 206), Nicocles (*F.H.G.* iv. 464, Susemihl ii. 393) and Menaechmus (unknown); and ends with a paraphrase of the first scholion, less the authority.—In so far as this account concerns the constitution of the Homeridae, the circumstances are normal: a

¹ This rests on good evidence. Mr. G. F. Hill is kind enough to inform me 'there are very common bronze coins of the second and first centuries B.C. which have always been identified as Homereia; on the obverse is a head of Apollo, on the reverse a

figure of Homer seated, his right hand raised to his chin, his left holding a roll on his knees.' Cf. Head, *B. M. Cat. of Greek Coins, Ionia*, pp. 244 ff. nos. 79-117.

gens, originally of blood-descendants, is continued by adoption of individuals without blood-relationship. Many parallels may be found for such a process, which was often necessary, and in fact inevitable, to secure the continuance of the gentile *sacra*. The scholion continues that the function of the guild (apart from the worship of its ancestor) was the right, acquired by apprenticeship (*ἐκ διαδοχῆς*) to recite the Homeric poems. This statement coincides with Pindar's words. The scholiast mentions as a conspicuous Homerid Cynaethus of Chios, the reputed author of the hymn to Apollo, who added lines to Homer, and first recited Homer at Syracuse. The last statement is given on the authority of the Sicilian antiquarian Hippostratus. The date (ol. 69 = B.C. 504) which Hippostratus is made to assign to Cynaethus has long been recognised to be wrong; not only from the internal evidence of the Hymn, but because it is incredible that the Syracusans should never have heard the *ἰωνικὸς ποιητὰς* until the days of Epicharmus and Pindar. An echo of the same tradition is found with Athenaeus (8) who ascribes the Apollo-hymn to "Ὁμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν τις (22 B).

Learned antiquity therefore regarded the Homeridae as a gens, first hereditary and then adoptive, which possessed the exclusive right of reciting their parent's works. We may ask two questions: (1) Are there analogies to such a gens? (2) Is the statement true of the period during which we have information about rhapsodes?

(1) The Attic *γένη* do not seem to yield a parallel to this type of gens. Toepffer divides them into patronymic gentes, and gentes (like the *Κήρυκες*) named after their functions. The patronymic gentes, when they have specific duties, are entrusted with the worship of a public God; as the Eumolpidae, the Lycomidae. Among the gentes devoted to their ancestor solely I do not find one pursuing a profession derived from its ancestor and awarding the distinctions on behalf of its ancestor and preserving its traditions in the way which Plato hints at. A professional patronymic gens is the *Εὐνείδαι*, a *γένος μουσικόν* with the right of furnishing *ὀρχησταί* and *κιθαρισταί* at Athenian festivals (Toepffer, p. 187), but we have no information about Euneus.

So far as the peculiarity of the Homeridae consisted in the exercise of a profession which was not the worship of a particular God, parallels are to hand in the numerous extra-Attic guilds, so common a feature of Greek life, of which I may mention the *Μελαμποδίδαι*, with their branch the *Κλυτίδαι*, the *Ἰαμίδαι*—prophets; the *Νεβρίδαι*, to which Hippocrates belonged—doctors¹; the *Ταλθυβιάδαι*—heralds; *Θρακίδαι* at Delphi and *Κινυρίδαι* in Cyprus—priests; and what may be a nearer case, the *Παμφίδες*, daughters of the hymn-writer Pamphos, who it is assumed were singing-women at Athens.² There seems therefore no reason to disbelieve the statement that the Homeric Family started with the prescriptive right to recite their father's verses.

¹ Steph. Byz. in v. Κῶς; ἦν δὲ Ἰπποκράτης τῶν καλουμένων Νεβριδῶν. Νεβρὺς γὰρ ἐγένετο ὁ διασημώτατος τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἡ Πυθία ἐμαρτύρησεν· οὗ Γνωσιδικός, Γνωσιδίκου δὲ Ἰπποκράτης καὶ Αἰνείος

καὶ Ποδαλείριος. Ἰπποκράτους Ἡρακλείδης, οὗ Ἰπποκράτης ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος.

² Hesych. Παμφίδες· γυναῖκες Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ Πάμφου τὸ γένος ἔχουσαι.

(2) Did they preserve this right through antiquity, or in other words were the historical rhapsodes members of the Chian gens, or taught or licensed by them? Plainly not. To say nothing of the rhapsodes of earlier centuries (*e.g.* at Smyrna and Sicyon) about whom we might conjecture with even probability in either sense, Ion, in Plato's dialogue quoted above, a practising rhapsode, clearly separates himself from the Homeridae: he suggests the gens might crown him. Such a remark might perhaps, à la rigueur, come from a *γεννητής*, but obviously it is most unnatural; and the epigraphic evidence is decisive. For the Panathenaea most unfortunately it is almost *nil* (*C.I.A.* ii. Pt. 1, 965-970), but the agonistic inscriptions relating to Boeotia and the neighbouring parts of Greece are very abundant from the fourth to the first century B.C. They are summarised to the date of his book by Reisch (*de musicis Graecorum certaminibus* 1885), but there have been large accretions. The rhapsode and the *ἐπῶν ποιητής* were constant performers at the *Μουσεία* at Thespieae, the *Χαριτεῖσια* at Orchomenus, the *Ἀμφιάρεια* at Oropus, the *Σωτήρια* at Delphi, the *Σαραπίεια* at Tanagra (see *C.I.G.* vii. *passim*), not to say at Thebes and Eretria (for the last v. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1902, p. 99, a fourth cent. inscr.). In many of these inscr. the name and country of the rhapsode is given: it is difficult to believe that Θεόδωτος Πυθίωνος Ἀθηναῖος (1760), ῥαψαφυδὸς Κράτων Κλίωνος of Thebes (3195 and 2418), Μέντωρ Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἡρακλεώτης (3196), Νουμήνιος Νουμηίου Ἀθηναῖος (3197), Ἀρτέμων Ἰσοδότου Ἀθηναῖος (416), Εἰέρων Ἀριστοβούλου Θηβαῖος (419), Θεοφάνης Σωκράτου Θηβαῖος (420), Πολύμνηστος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀρκάς, Κλειτόριος Ἀριστείδου Ἀρκάς (Delphi, B.C. 272; Collitz, 2563) Ἀγαθῖνος Κριτοδήμου Σικυώνιος (*ib.* 2565), . . . ν Θρασωνίδου Σινωπεύς (*ib.* 2564), and many more, in the Macedonian and Roman period, stood in any relation at all to the distant island of Chios and the Homeric gens. Nor will anyone maintain that Dionysius' rhapsodes whom he sent to Olympia to recite his own poems (Diod. xiv. 109) were under Chian rules.

They must therefore at some period have lost their copyright, their acting rights, in Homer, and have retained their sacral and esoteric functions. At what time their original rights passed from their hands there is no evidence; but probability would put it at an early date. In Pindar (1) I am ready to agree with Mr. Monro that the word Ὀμηρίδαι has already acquired its later use of epic artists in general; as Ἀσκληπιάδαι is a synonym for doctors, and Δαιδαλίδαι for sculptors. Later indeed 'Sons of Homer' meant merely writers of hexameters, as when Philostratus (9) recounting the exploits of Scopelianus at Smyrna says οὕτω τι μεγαλοφωνίας ἐπὶ μείζον ἤλασεν ὡς καὶ Γίγαντιαν ξυνθεῖναι, παραδοῦναι τε Ὀμηρίδαις ἀφορμὰς ἐς τὸν λόγον. (*Vit. Soph.* p. 221=c. v.) The data seem reconcilable with the usual legend that the poems after coming into existence as epics in Ionia, eventually passed to Europe (in the hands of Lycurgus): the Chian family must have found a compensation in the spreading name of their father, now a national possession, for the loss of their monopoly.

A historical analogy to the Homeridae as they were when their prescription was taken from them is fortunately to hand. The Master of the other Epic

school, the Boeotian, was commemorated by an association, which if it did not bear his patronymic, expressed the relation by a circumlocution. The *συνθύται* Μουσῶν 'Ησιοδείων possessed land at Thespieae (*I.G. Sept.* 1785 *ορος τας γας τας [ιε]ρας τω σ[υν]θυτα[ων] τ[αμ] μωσα[ων] εισιοδειων*). Another inscription (4240), imperfect, contains (a) a dedication to these Muses, *ιν αεινως | και γεν[ε]ος το τελος [κει]νω κα[ι] του νομα σωιζοι*, (b) an oracle delivered by one Aristopho[on?], *οὐκ ἀ[δα]ης Ελικων μ[ουσαω]ν, viz. πειθομενοι[σι] βροτοις υποθηκαις ησιοδοιο | ευνοια χωρα τ' ε[σ]τ[αι] καρποισι βρουουσα*. (c) Hesiod himself speaks: *ησιοδος διου μουσας ελικωνα τε θειον | καλ[λ]ιστοις υμνοις*¹ When Pausanias came to Thespieae, he was shown the sacred sights (ix. 29. 5) and was informed (31. 4) of the tradition (*παρειλημμένα δόξη*) that the *Works and Days* are Hesiod's only genuine works, and even of these the first verses (1-10) were a *προοίμιον*; and was shown the official copy at Aganippe, on lead. The early poets rhapsodised their own works or those of their Master, and wrote hymns or *προοίμια* such as OD. 1-10 (on their own showing), and the hymn to Apollo which won the prize at Delos (fr. 265, quoted by Philochorus, perhaps from the *Κατάλογοι*). In later times doubtless they lost their privilege.

These *συνθύται* are a fair parallel to the Homeridae, and substantiate the statement that the latter was a sacral corporation.

What organisation the Homeridae and Hesiodeans originally had, whether they taught, gave licences, and so forth, is matter for the imagination.² They were credited in antiquity with reciting the poems and composing *προοίμια* or hymns; and we have seen that there is nothing to contradict this. They will have possessed, as Mr. Lang in his *Homer and his Age* makes probable, 'books' of their authors, which they handed on with the right to recite.

It is to be noticed on the other hand that the members of the Homeric guild are not conceived of as composing independent epics of their own. It seemed, at one period of criticism, a symmetrical way of regarding the question to suppose that the Sons of Homer were the School of Homer, and like the Hippocratean, Platonic, and Aristotelian disciples, completed the Master's work. The Cycle however is 'Ομηρος and not his sons. Not one of the authors of the Cycle is called 'Ομηρίδης. In the Boeotian inscriptions *ραψωιδος* and *επων ποιητης* are distinct categories, not convertible terms. Still no universal negative can be proved: if no cyclic poet is known to have declaimed Homer, rhapsodes did compose. One of the latter, Magnes of Smyrna, a peripatetic rhapsode (it is true we are not told in so many words he was an Homeric rhapsode), in the reign of Gyges, wrote the exploits of the Lycians against the Amazons.³ The key to

¹ The Thespian festival, the Μουσεία, is mentioned *I. G. Sept.* 1735, 1760, 1763 (s. iii.-i. B.C.).

² The Ionic singing-guild, of which the regulations were published by v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, was unfortunately melic. (*Satzungen einer milesischen Sängergilde. Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad.* 1904, xix.)

³ Nic. Damasc. fr. 62 (*F.H.G.* iii. p. 395). *ὅτι*

Μάγνης ἦν ἀνὴρ Σμυρναῖος, καλὸς τὴν ἰδέαν εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος, ποιήσει τε μουσικῇ δόκιμος . . . περὶ τε τὰς πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ποιήσιν. τούτου δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι ἦσαν, Γύγης δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἐφλέγετο καὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε παιδικά. γυναῖκάς γε μὴν πάσας ἐξέμηνεν, ἔνθα ἐγένετο δὲ Μάγνης, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς Μαγνήτων, καὶ συνῆν αὐταῖς. οἱ δὲ τούτων συγγενεῖς, ἀχθόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενοι ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν

the Homeric question lies in the early history of Ionia, did we only possess it. This anecdote, first used I believe by Bergk, shows us the rhapsode of the age of Arctinus, Lesches, and Cynaethus (750-700) in all his glory; perambulating the Greek cities, reviving the heroic age at the court of a half-Greek monarch, and enjoying the same *bonnes fortunes* as the traditional troubadour or the prophet in Isocr. xix. 5. Was Aristaeas of Proconnesus a rhapsode, and did he celebrate the Arimaspians round the towns of Hellas? Thucydides too recognised the work of the rhapsode Cynaethus as Homeric. Moreover according to tradition (Lesches ap. Plut. *Conv. Sept. Sap.* 153 F; Hesiod *fr.* 265) 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' met at Chalcis and Delos, and contended at the latter place with 'new hymns' to Apollo. In the absence of either context it is difficult to appreciate the meaning of these statements.

The Hesiodic passage (which may have come from the *Κατάλογοι*, and does not deserve Rzach's stigma of *ἀμφισβητήσιμον*) is in the first person; Lesches (the poet, there is no need to invent another individual of the same name) *may* have alluded to Homer in the third (as Hesiod is referred to Theog. 22), but it would be an unique procedure so far as we know in the Homeric school. If the first person were used, then Lesches is speaking of himself, and the contest took place in his period. I may further observe that if members of the Homeric and Hesiodic schools could compose and recite hymns to Apollo at Delos in the 8th century, there is no need to refuse the whole of the Homeric hymn to Cynaethus of Chios. The harmonisation of Delos and Delphi took place some centuries earlier than we generally suppose.

If then the sons of Homer were a Chian guild, worshipping their ancestor, performing his poems, possessing private verses of their own, the true account of their parent and the authority to recompense those who honoured him; may we infer from the Sons to the Father? In antiquity Seleucus, who lived at Rome under Tiberius, cut the ground from this argument by interpreting *ὁμηρος* to mean 'hostage.' He committed the fallacy of the illicit common noun; the Greeks often did so, usually for a gibe—and there were other etymologies for *ὁμηρίζειν*. The moderns also have indulged in the fallacy, but with a difference. The ancients would have all names significant, and therefore took *Αἰνείας* from *αἶνος*, *Ὀδυσσεύς* from *ὁδός*¹ or *ὀδύσσεσθαι*²; the moderns will not allow a significant word (in the heroic age) to be a name: *εἰς Ἐχέτον βασιλῆα* in defiance of the laws of speech is an allegory. Seleucus lived in, or on the verge of, the period when the ancient brain gave way, and mythology and allegory reigned. Too much poring over the great dead produces the same results, and the ancients had their Donnelly's and Gallops. Well for Shakespeare that he was born in an age of parish registers; had he been a Greek how much would be left of *Ἐγχερσπάλος*? However Seleucus'

ἦσαν ὁ Μάγνης Λυδῶν ἀριστεῖαν ἐν ἵππομαχίᾳ πρὸς
'Αμάζονας, αὐτῶν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐμνήσθη, ἐπαίξαντες περι-
κατέρρηξαν τε τὴν ἐσθήτα . . . ἐφ' οἷς ἤλγησε μάλιστα
ὁ Γύγης . . . ἐπαυελθὼν δὲ εἰς Σάρδεϊς πανηγύρεις

ἐποίησατο μεγαλοπρεπεῖς.

¹ Silenus Chius ap. Eust. 1871, 20.

² The Elysian fields from *ἰλός* (Apio ap. Eust. 563.)

madness, and the other ancient idea according to which ὄμηρος = τυφλός,¹ are mild before the inventiveness of the moderns, who have turned the sommo poeta into a carpenter and joiner. It is safe to say that if ὄμηρος meant anything, that it existed as a common noun in the heroic age, it meant a companion (π 468 ὁμήρησε δέ μοι παρ' ἐταίρων ἄγγελος ὤκυσ, Hes. *Theog.* 39 φωνῇ ὁμηρεῦσαι); but that whether it existed or not, Homer and Eumolpus designated individuals as much as Terpander, Pisistratus, Pisander and Polycrates, Beaumont and Fletcher, La Fontaine and La Jeunesse. Geddes, years ago, with the security which only comes of ignorance, said 'there appears to be no trace of "Ομηρος' (*Problem of the Homeric poems* p. 317); and therefore Homer comes from ὁμοῦ, as Thamyris' bowels contain θαμά (*ib.* p. 26).² Well, I know that there were Πολλοὶ Ὀμηροί, as Proclus says (*vit. Hesiodi*, c. 3 West.) ζήλῳ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τὴν κλῆσιν λαμβάνοντες, and Suidas and the inscriptions offer several; but when we leave out poets we have the following ordinary persons, at least, called Homer:

Collitz *Dialektinschrift*. 2138 στραταγεοντος των θεσσαλων ομηρου λαρισαιου.
ib. 2520 (= Dittenb. *Syll.* 248) ιερομνημονουντων αιτωλων—ομαρου
 the same 2522 (= Ditt. 249), 2523.
 Dittenberger *Syll.* 670. 3 (at Larisa) επιγενης ομηρου παιδας παγκρατιον
ib. 671.28 (*ibid.*) εμπεδιων ομηρου παιδας πυκτας
 I. G. Sept. I. 1558 (Tanagra) ομηρος εναρχιδου
 I. G. xii. fasc. 3 (Melos) 1669 ανηλιον ομηρον
 I. G. Sicil. et Ital. (Rome) 1891 μνημης χαριν προσεθηκα ομηρος γυναικι βασιλικη.

It is unreasonable to suppose that all these people were god-children of the poet; but even if they were, it is nothing against the reality of the name. Dante is a common Christian name in Italy to-day. The name Ὀμηρος was perhaps a North-Greek name, not common, but as common as Hesiod (with a significant derivation of which I am not familiar), Arctinus, Stasinus, and the other old poets' names. Wilamowitz' sensible remarks on this subject (*Hom. Untersuchungen* 370) have received less attention than other parts of his treatise.

The moderns however have done better than this. By a sort of inverted metaphysic which must hail from the land of Hegel,³ and commended itself to the Anglo-German mind of Grote, the Homeridae are not the sons of Homer, but

¹ Ephorus fr. 164. Even Proclus knew better than that: *vit. Hom.* v. 43 (p. 26 West.) τυφλὸν δ' ὅσοι τοῦτον ἀπεφῆναντο, αὐτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν πεπηρῶσθαι. τοσαῦτα γὰρ κατείδεν ἄνθρωπος ὅσ' οὐδεὶς πάποτε. He repeats the repartee which may be traced as far back as Velleius i. 5. 1 ('quem si quis caecum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est') and which the language (τοὺς τὰς ὕψεις πεπηρωμένους Ephorus, τὴν διάνοιαν πεπ. Proclus) shows to hail from an enemy of Ephorus.—The real blind man was Cynaethus, who, forbidden by Homeric tradition to name himself, furnishes his identification as narrowly as he can. He succeeded in his intention: the hymn to Apollo is the only one where a tradition

of authorship has survived.

² On etymology Strabo's remarks are still in place: 784 περὶ τῶν Ἑρεμβῶν ἢ ζήτησις, εἴτε τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας ὑπονοητέον λέγεσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν βιαζόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἕραν ἐμβαίνειν—607 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τότε Ξηψίς, εἴτ' ἄλλως εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περισκεπτον εἶναι τὸν τόπον, εἰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐν τῷ τότε ὀνόματα ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἐτυμολογεῖσθαι φωναῖς. We should never forget how a distinguished archaeologist once derived Lesches the cyclic poet from λέσχη (*Bild und Lied*, p. 227).

³ Welcker, *Er. Cycl.* i. 126, appears to deserve the credit.

Homer is a consequence or abstraction of the Homeridae. It is I imagine a sign of the acquiescent nature of philologists that such a paradox has been accepted and finds its place in the latest books on Homer. What is the evidence for the too frequent phrase about *γένη* in general, 'the mythical eponymous'? The Eumolpidae, I suppose: they were a kind of Sons of Harmony, and could not do without an harmonious ancestor. But, the Eumolpidae *did not sing*; they were hierophants. Music and dancing were provided by the *Εὐνεῖδαι*; Euneus does not mean dancer or musician. If Eumolpus is an allegory, are Dysaules, Metaneira, and Triptolemus allegories too?—Or perhaps the Daedalidae, Talthybiadae, and Asclepiadae are transparent examples of the mythopoeic spirit? The Asclepiadae I waive, as I do not know enough about Greek religion to say who Asclepius was. *Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱός* however has a definite sound in Homer, and to Pindar Asclepius was as real as Achilles or Chiron; moreover it was the Greek opinion that many minor deities were deified men (Diodorus vi. 1. 2 gives Heracles, Dionysus, Aristaeus, Paus. viii. 2. 4 Aristaeus, Britomartis, Heracles, Amphiarus, Pollux, and Castor). The individuals Daedalus and Talthybius are the most natural means of accounting for their *γένη*. I shall be told that *δαίδαλα* was an old word for *ξόανα* (Paus. ix. 3. 2), and reminded of *δαιδάλλειν*. Well, is Dahl derived from dahlia, and Volta from volt? Do Boule and Chippendale illustrate the mythopoeic tendencies of the eighteenth century?

Let us realise what this hypothesis involves. A set of minstrels called themselves or found themselves called *Ὀμηρίδαι*, a patronymic without a meaning. At some point they awoke to their situation: 'tenez' they said, 'on est des fils d'Homère; il nous faut un père.' Is this likely? Why should we shut our eyes to the universal two-fold phenomenon—a single individual highly gifted, starting a movement, a line of human activity, and his successors describing their relation to him as filial? Consider the largest mediaeval instances of the principle, the religious orders. The figli di san Benedetto know where their father was born and died, they have his rule; Dominic is no abstraction from the Dominicans, nor Francis an inverted resultant of his children. The Greek heroic age is no longer a desert of Brocken spectres and natural forces: it is peopled by positive individuals. The further we go back in history the greater appears to be the rôle of the individual. Miss Harrison has made out Orpheus as definite a missionary as St. Paul, and as ploughing the same waters. The construction of two ageless Epics out of saga or metrical chronicle emphatically demands an individual, a man above his peers. What is there to prevent this genius from leaving his name with his writings first to the excellent Creophylus,¹ who makes Plato and Callimachus laugh, and then to a society which appeased his ghost²?

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Plato, *Rep.* 600B δ Κρεώφυλος δ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἑταῖρος, τοῦ ὀνόματος γελοιότερος ἔτι. Callimachus ap. Strab. 638. Ridiculous or not, he existed, and Mr. Lang (*Homer and his Age*, p. 300) has a French parallel to the story that the Cypria was left either to him or to Stasinus.

² Lycurgus' friends deserve a mention: Plut. *Lycurg.* 31, he died childless, οἱ δ' ἑταῖροι καὶ οἰκεῖοι διαδοχὴν τινα καὶ σύνοδον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους διαμείναντες κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς συνήρχοντο Λυκούργιδας προσηγόρευσαν.

ON FOUR PASSAGES OF PINDAR.

Ol. i. 58-61.

ἄν [*sc.* ἄταν] οἱ πατήρ ὑπερ
κρέμασε καρτερὸν αὐτῷ λίθον
τὸν αἰεὶ μενοινῶν κεφαλᾶς βαλεῖν
εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται.

The spaced words are commonly rendered either (1) 'desiring to ward off from his head,' or (2) 'expecting to strike his head.' Of these two renderings the first gives to κεφαλᾶς βαλεῖν a sense which is seemingly without example and which the two words can hardly bear, if they can also bear the meaning given to them by the second rendering. The meaning which this second rendering gives to them is their *natural* meaning (βαλεῖν = τεύξεσθαι, Gildersleeve): on the other hand μενοινῶν does not mean, and cannot mean, 'expecting.' It means 'strongly desiring.' 'Expecting it to strike his head' would be μένων οἱ κεφαλᾶς βαλεῖν, and this, I suggest, is what Pindar wrote.

In *Pyth.* iii. 16 we have μένω ('wait for') followed by aor. inf. Thus there will be no difficulty here with βαλεῖν. I may add that even if κεφαλᾶς βαλεῖν could stand for κεφαλᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν, yet what is wanted is not ἀποβαλεῖν (which would imply that the stone actually rested on the head of Tantalus) but some such word as παρατρέψαι, which is the word Pindar actually uses, in a similar context, *Isthm.* vii. (viii.) 10 τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς γε Ταντάλου λίθον παρά τις ἔτρεψεν ἄμμι θεός. ἀποβαλεῖν is as little suited to our present passage as ἀπέβαλεν would be to *Isthm.* vii. (viii.) 10. And lastly μενοινῶν κεφαλᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν fails to convey what *Isthm.* vii. (viii.) 10 shows to be the main idea in Pindar's description of Tantalus' punishment—the idea of a never-ending apprehension. The punishment is not that Tantalus cannot ward off the stone—there is no question of that; but that the stone is every moment about to fall.

Ol. ii. 60.

βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν.

'Putting into man's heart deep searching care.' So most editors, taking ἀγροτέραν (as do the scholl.) as = θηρευτικὴν τοῦ καλοῦ. But (1) ἀγρότερος (even when an epithet of Artemis.¹—Hom. *Il.* xxi. 471, *Bacch.* ii. 123, Xen. *Cyneg.* vi. 13,

¹ It belongs to Artemis in her capacity of huntress-deity, but it does not therefore mean 'hunting.'

Schol. Att. iv.) can nowhere be shown to mean 'hunting.' The only passage in Pindar where it can conceivably mean 'hunting' is *Pyth.* ix. 6 *παρθένον ἀγροτέραν*: where, however, I have no doubt that *ἀγροτέραν* means merely 'uncivilised,' 'wild':—the *παρθένος* in question is Cyrene—an untamed tract of country (contrast in l. 7 *πολυκαρποτάτας δέσποιναν χθονός*): (2) even if *ἀγροτέραν* could mean 'hunting,' it could not mean 'hunting out what is noble or good': it could not be = *θηρευτικήν τοῦ καλοῦ*, but rather = *θηροκτόνον*.

If this is so, we seem compelled to seek for some other rendering of our sentence than the traditional one. Mezger (though he finds no difficulty in *ἀγροτέραν*=*θηρευτικήν τοῦ καλοῦ*) translates 'subduing, keeping deep down, fierce trouble.' But he cites no parallel to this use of *ὑπέχειν*: and, until one is cited, I should prefer to give to *ὑπέχειν* its ordinary meaning 'endure.' 'Wealth,' says Pindar, 'adorned with virtue bringeth opportunity for this and that—*βαθειῶν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν*—if it can support deep and fierce care'—'if,' as we should say, 'if only a man will *take pains*.' (Cf. v. 15. *πόνος δαπάνη τε*.)

Ol. ii. 63–66.

θανόντων μὲν ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες
 ποινὰς ἔτισαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχῇ
 ἀλιτρά κατὰ γῆς δικάζει τις ἐχθρῇ
 λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκη.

The only textual difficulty is that created by Rauchenstein's widely received conjecture *αὐτίς* for *αὐτίκ'* in 63. With this correction (which even Christ accepts) we have to translate: 'the sinful souls among the dead sent back to earth again (*αὐτίς ἐνθάδε*) pay the penalty (of sin), while the sins done in this world of Zeus one below judgeth, etc.' This involves an impossible inversion of the true order of ideas. It makes Pindar speak of the second punishment of guilty souls (in a new life on earth) before he says anything of their first punishment (in the word below). On the other hand, to retain the text unaltered, and to connect *ἐνθάδ'* with *ἀπάλαμνοι* ('souls that have sinned upon earth'), as most editors do, is to take a worse liberty with the Greek than that of emending it. But there is, I fancy, a 'third alternative'; and I am surprised that no one (and I have read, I think, most of the commentaries that have been written on the passage) seems to have suggested it. This 'third alternative' is to give to *ἐνθάδε* the *temporal* sense which it sometimes bears in Greek (see L. and S. *sub voc.*). *ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ'* I take as one phrase = 'immediately' (compare our 'on the spot,' 'then and there'). In Sophocles *O.T.* 488 we have *οὐτ' ἐνθάδ' ὁρῶν οὐτ' ὀπίσω* ('present and future'): ib. *O.C.* 992 *αὐτίκ' ἐνθάδε κτείνου παραστάς*, where, despite *παραστάς*, the sense is, I think, more temporal than local. Similarly *ἔνθα* is occasionally used to indicate time, sometimes with the addition of a true adverb of time, e.g. Hom. *Od.* vii. 196 *ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα*: so also *ἔνθεν*: e.g. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 741. These passages are, I think, quite sufficient to justify our interpreting *ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ'* in the lines before us in a

temporal sense; and with this interpretation the principal difficulty felt by commentators disappears. But I wish to call attention to a difficulty which commentators seem to me to have passed over. Who or what is the *τις*, who is the subject of *δικάζει* in 65? '*τις*. Dread indefiniteness,' runs Mr. Gildersleeve's note. '*τις*. ad horrorem incutiendum,' says Schneidewin. 'iudex apud inferos,' Boeckh, 'Pluton,' says Mezger boldly (following one of the scholl. recc.). But the scholl. uett. (reading, with A, *ἐχθρὰ Ἀνάγκα*) make 'Necessity' the subject of *δικάζει*. This is an ingenious (but unwarrantable) attempt to get rid of a real difficulty. Granting that *τις*=Pluto ('ad horrorem incutiendum'—though the 'indefiniteness' seems to me flat rather than 'dread') what is the appropriateness of *ἐχθρὰ λόγ. φρ. ἀνάγκα*? The phrase seems to me appropriate, not to a judge pronouncing righteous judgment, but to a sinner confessing his sins (cf. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 567 *subigitque fateri*). And it is to the sinner I believe that Pindar's *τις* refers. I would translate the whole passage thus:—'The helpless souls of the dead¹ straightway pay the penalty for sin, and for the wickedness done in this world of Zeus, a man must plead his cause in the world below, telling the count of his sin by unloved compulsion' (cf. *Hamlet* iii. 3: 'And we ourselves compelled, Even in the teeth and forehead of our faults, to give in evidence'). For this sense of *δικάζει* ('pleads cause of') cf. Eur. *Orest.* 580 *φόνον δικάζων* ('endeavouring to justify'): nor do I think that *δικάζειν* in the sense of 'to try', 'to judge', 'to condemn,' with an acc. of the offence tried or condemned (the ordinary interpretation here) is well supported. (Aesch. *Suppl.* 230 (204) is not a case in point: since there (1) the true construction is perhaps *δικάζειν . . δίκας*, (2) there is some doubt as to the text. In Soph. *O.T.* 1214 the true reading is probably *δικάζει τ' ἄγαμον γάμον* (Hermann) i.e. *ἄγαμον γάμον εἶναι* (the inf. as Thuc. i. 28).

Ol. vi. 61-2.

*ἀντεφθέγξατο δ' ἀρτιεπὴς
πατρία ὄσσα μετάλλασέν τέ νιν.*

Boeckh interprets *μετάλλασεν* as = *ἐφιλοφρονήσατο*, 'his father's voice embraced him.' Dissen renders 'sought him,' to which Boeckh rejoins that he was there, and there was no need to seek him: to which Dissen makes a counter-rejoinder that he was there *νυκτός* 'in the dark.' A more powerful objection to Dissen is that *μεταλλάω* does not mean to 'seek' but to 'enquire.' It means either 'enquire,' absolutely, or else to enquire after the fate of a person; and neither of these senses is applicable here. Christ with codex A, reads *μετάλλασσεν* 'removed him to another place.' The only parallel he cites is Plato, *Timaeus* 19, where however (1) one MS. has *διαλλάττειν*, (2) the added words *εἰς χώραν* make all the difference. 'To change a person to a particular place' is intelligible; but to 'change,' without

¹ *θανόντων ἀπάλαμοι φρένες* = Homer's *νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα*. The sense 'sinful' for *ἀπάλαμος* is not Pindaric, nor, I think, anywhere well established.

the addition of any place, is inconceivable in the sense of to 'remove.' Bergk, abandoning the text, conjectured *μετάνστασεν*. The text cannot, I believe, be defended: but Bergk's conjecture is palaeographically not probable. I would suggest that we should read *μεταύδασεν* (an uncial *v* is but an inverted Λ : ΜΕΤΑΥΔΑΣΕΝ = ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΣΕΝ).

H. W. GARROD.

LVCILIANA.

(Continued from p. 74.)

A CAUTIOUS man, as I said at the outset, will not edit Lucilius; for it is an editor's business to pronounce an opinion on all the difficulties in his author, and when the author is in fragments the opinion will oftener be wrong than right. But a critic of Lucilius who is not also his editor, and can pick and choose among the pieces, is in a somewhat happier case; and I will now go on to attempt the correction or elucidation of certain passages where I seem to myself to have arrived at probable conclusions.

40-2 (Iul. Rufin. de fig. sent. et eloc. 26).

nam, si tu fluctus undasque e gurgite salso
tollere decreris, uenti prius Emathii uim,
uentum, inquam, tollas t. c. q. i. l.

If you would do away with a storm at sea you must first do away with the wind that causes it. *Emathii uim* is Lachmann's correction of *Haematium*, and it only remains to solve the abbreviations. 'quod I. Beckerus proposuit *tu culpam quam illi*' *laxes*, L. Muellerus *tu crimina quam ista lenabis*, utrumque caret sensu', says Mr Marx, 'ego temptaui *tum cedet quae ira lacunis*'. Quod item caret sensu: I can guess what Mr Marx means by it, but Lucilius could not have guessed. What the context most naturally suggests is this:

uentum, inquam, tollas: t<um> c<uncta> q<uieta> i<acebunt>
l<itora>.

Compare Prop. iii 15 31-3 'ueluti, magnos cum ponunt aequora motus, | eurus ubi aduerso desinit ire noto, | *litore sic tacito*, sonitus rarescit harenae'.

130. Non. p. 150 'praecox et praecoca, quod est inmatura. Ennius annali lib. viii praecox pugna est. Lucilius lib. iii anicula aspera atque praecox est fuga'.

It was here observed by Palmerius that something has been lost; for 'praecox est fuga' are the words not of Lucilius but of Varro, quoted by Nonius on p. 156 'cum tempus reuocat, ea praecox est fuga'. The scribe glanced onward from the second to the third instance of the adjective *praecox* and omitted all that intervened, the beginning of Varro's sentence and perhaps the end of Lucilius'. The editors

now regard 'anícula aspera atque <praecox>' as the remnant of what Lucilius wrote. I do not altogether agree; for Nonius' heading is 'praecox et praecoca', and of *praecoca* he gives no example: this therefore I suspect to be the form which he quoted from Lucilius.

Then arises the question of the metre. 'anícula inmatura' appears to be nonsense, so *anícula* must be set aside: we have to choose between the corrections *amicula* and *annicula*, both found in certain MSS. If *amicula* is adopted, then, unless violent measures are taken with the rest of the words, the metre will be iambic. But Nonius quotes this fragment from book iii, and that book was written in hexameters. *annicula* therefore deserves to be preferred as Mr Marx prefers it, and its sense is most appropriate: *asper* and *praecox* are just the epithets for a colt or filly of one year old. But metre is still to seek, and I, not being a conservative critic, cannot emulate the daring with which Mr Marx at once expels *atque* from his text and suppresses it in his apparatus criticus. Perhaps the original was

~~~~~ annicula aspera acerba  
praecoca,

for *aeua* is not very far from *atque* (compare 999 *erexit* for *erexerit*), and *acerba* is no less apt than the other adjectives: Non. p. 247 '*acerbum*, incoctum, *praecocum* . . . . . Varro in Agathone . . . maiores nostri *uirginis acerbae* auris ueneriis uocabulis inbui noluerunt'. But a slighter change would be enough to restore the metre: 'annicula aspera <equa> atque | praecoca'.

181-8. Gell. xviii 8 'ὁμοιοτέλευτα et ἰσοκατάληκτα et πάρισα et ὁμοιόπτωτα ceteraque huiusmodi scitamenta, quae isti apirocali, qui se Isocratios uideri uolunt, in conlocandis uerbis immodice faciunt et rancide, quam sint insubida et inertia et puerilia, facetissime hercle significat in quinto saturarum Lucilius. nam, ubi est cum amico conquestus, quod ad se aegrotum non uiseret, haec ibidem addit festiuiter:

quo me habeam pacto, tametsi non quaeris, docebo,  
quando in eo numero mansi, quo in maxima non est  
pars hominum, <neque enim tam te mihi credo inimicum,>  
ut periisse uelis, quem uisere nolueris, cum  
debueris. hoc "nolueris" et "debueris" te 185  
si minus delectat, quod atechnon et Eisocratium  
*οχληρωδες* que simul totum ac *συμμειρακιωδες*,  
non operam perdo. si tu hic . . .'

In 183 I have inserted words to give the drift of what is lost. Mr Marx says that many verses are missing, and strangely supplies 'tu enim tali es socordia'.

In 186 the MSS are equally divided between *Eisocratium* and *Eisocratium est*, which most editors adopt. In 187 *οχληρωδες* was corrected by Scaliger to *ληρωδες*, and at the end of the verse the MSS have such variants as *synmiraciodes* and *si miratio des*. Mr Marx prints



hoc 'nolueris' et 'debueris' te  
 si minus delectat (quod atechnon) et Eissocratium *hoc*  
 lerodesque simul totum ac si miraciodes,  
 non operam perdo, si tu hic;

and explains it as meaning 'si hoc homoeoteleuton te minus delectat (quamquam casu non arte effectum est) et si hoc totum Isocratium et ληρώδες et μειρακιῶδες <est>, non operam perdo, siquidem tu hic es, <ut periisse me uelis potius quam me uisas aegrotum>'. This is a capital sample of the art of emendation as practised by those who do not understand it. What is that *hoc* doing at the end of the verse? Why did Lucilius fill up, by this wanton and vexatious repetition of the pronoun, the space which is urgently required for the missing verb? simply in order that a scribe might alter *hoc lerodes* into ὁχληρώδες and give Mr Marx the chance of altering it back? I can imagine no other motive. And see how easy a matter it is to deprive conjunctions of conjunctiveness: 'atechnon) et Eissocratium'.

In one point however I agree with Mr Marx, in rejecting συμμειρακιῶδες. No such word exists in Greek, nor could exist; for the Greeks do not prefix their intensifying σύν to adjectives of quality. Francken proposed the bastard compound subμειρακιῶδες, but this enfeebles the sense: μειρακιῶδες must stand alone without a prefix, and the *sym* or *syn* or *si* must be put to some other work.

Scaliger's ληρώδες seems to be a true correction and will be confirmed by what I shall say below; but whence comes the οχ of the MSS? The answer to this question may perhaps be found by asking another: why has the Greek adjective *Isocratium* a Latin termination, when the terminations of *atechnon* and *lerodes* and *miraciodes* are Greek? It is Lucilius' practice to give Greek adjectives the Greek inflexion, *Atticon*, *disyllabon*, *empleuron*, *cacosyntheton*, *calliplocamon*, *callisphyron*, *pareutacton*, *poeticon*, and to reserve the Latin ending for substantives, *exodium*, *zetematium*, *cobium*, *schedium*; <sup>1</sup> and I suspect that here a marginal correction, ON for VM, has been attached to ληρώδες and mistaken for OX. The verses should run thus:

hoc 'nolueris' et 'debueris' te  
 si minus delectat, quod atechnon et Isocraton  
 ληρώδες que simul totum ac si μειρακιῶδες,  
 non operam perdo.

But there still remains the offence which causes most editors to accept from Scaliger his violent change of *atechnon et* into τεχνόν, and which incites Mr Marx to the enterprise of caging *quod atechnon* between his fragile brackets:—the apparent contradiction of *atechnon* and *Isocraton*. If anything ever was τεχνικόν, surely that thing is the oratory of Isocrates. The difficulty is real, and seems at first sight insuperable; but let us look at the words of Gellius. His *puerilia*

<sup>1</sup> How the unmetrical *Socratium* of 742 (Non. p. 237) should be amended is not quite certain: probably *Socraticum*, 'Socrates' disciple'.



translates the *μειρακιῶδες* of Lucilius, his *insubida* translates *ληρώδες*, his *quae isti* ... *qui se Isocratio uideri volunt* ... *faciunt* translates *Isocratio*, and lastly his *inertia* is a literal rendering of *atechnon*. Lucilius, it appears, has ventured to use *ἄτεχνον* in the full meaning of its etymological equivalent the Latin *iners*. The petty trickery in which the so called art of Isocrates consists is a *τέχνη ἄτεχνος* (Plat. Phaedr. 262 C *λόγων* ... *τέχνην* ... *γελοῖαν τινὰ* ... *καὶ ἄτεχνον παρέξεται*) an art undeserving of the name; and Lucilius can say with justice to the *ἀπειρόκαλος* who practises it, as Varro says to someone else in Non. p. 182, '*artem expromis inertem*'. This particular artifice, the assonance of *nolueris* and *debueris*, is at once inartistic and ineffective.<sup>1</sup>

300-1. Non. p. 427 'primores summae quaeque res. Lucilius lib. viii

gallinaceus cum uictor se gallus honeste  
mtelitus digitos primoresque erigit unguis'.

The object of *erigit* (*erigunt* MSS, corr. ed. princ.) must be *se*; and the Aldine edition finds a construction for *digitos* and *unguis* by writing '*sustulit <in> digitos*': the tense of the verb however is wrong, and Mr Marx prefers *altius*. But why insert *in* when *in* is present, thinly disguised as *m*?

in tentos digitos primoresque erigit unguis.

*li* is often substituted for *u* and sometimes for *n*, as at Catull. 63 85 *adhortalis* for *adhortans*.

450-1. Non. p. 425 'fors et fortuna . . . . . Lucilius satirarum lib. xiii . . .

aut forte omnino ac fortuna uincere bello.  
si forte ac temere omnino, quid cursum ad honorem?'

For *cursum* both Lachmann and Mueller conjectured *rursum*; Mr Marx must therefore conjecture something else: 'ego arbitror me rectius tradita esse interpretatum cum posuerim *quorsum* . . . . . Itaque poeta dixerat "fortuna caeca est neque gloriam neque honorem parit sola neque imperator bonus omnia se debere uolet casui

aut forte omnino ac fortuna uincere bello.  
si forte ac temere omnino quid, quorsum? ad honorem?'

in ellipsis satis audax est poeta: supplendum est et *pertinet* et *fit*.' The construction then is 'si quid forte ac temere omnino fit, quorsum pertinet? ad honorem?' Who, in real life, has ever heard a man ask so foolish a question and suggest so foolish a reply?

*rursum* appears to be right, but then the sentence must be incomplete: Nonius is quoting only those verses which contained the words of his lemma. The general sense would seem to have been of this sort:

<sup>1</sup> Mr Leo (Goett. gel. Anz. 1906 p. 846) also defends *atechnon*, but explains it as meaning 'alien from the epistolary style'.



<aut aliam quandam ob causam solent imperatores>  
 aut forte omnino ac fortuna uincere bello.  
 <si priorem illam ob causam, quid ad nescioquam rem?>  
 si forte ac temere omnino, quid rursum ad honorem?

This is the 20th century, so perhaps I had better explain that my interpolations are not hexameters.

484-9 (Lactant. inst. i 22 13 and epitom. 22).

|                                                  |     |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----|
| terrículas, Lamias, Fauni quas Pompiliique       |     |
| instituire Numae, tremit has, hic omnia ponit.   | 485 |
| ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia aena       |     |
| uiuere et esse homines, sic isti somnia ficta    |     |
| uera putant, credunt signis cor inesse in aenis. |     |
| pergula pictorum, ueri nil, omnia ficta.         |     |

'hic omnia ponit' in 485 means 'in his omnia ponit', 'he thinks them all-important', like Iuu. xiii 86 'sunt in fortunae qui casibus omnia ponant'. Of course it does, says the reader; what else could it mean? Nothing; but Mr Marx interprets it 'in fructu uitae arbitratur omnia esse'. That superstitious folk are materialists and sensualists is quite untrue, nor could anything be more foreign to Lucilius' purpose or less coherent with the context; yet such is Mr. Marx's explanation.

In 489 he alters *pictorum* into *fictorum* (this, unless I have lost count, is the 43rd place in which he breaks his famous canon 'uerba salua et sana esse, si numeri uersuum sint salui'). *pictorum* is attested by the MSS twice over, both in the body of Lactantius' institutiones and in his own abridgment of that work; but Mr Marx says 'mendosum Lucilii hunc locum iam Lactantius legit', and appeals to 487, where the MSS twice over give *omnia* instead of the *somnia* restored by Lachmann. Very good; but what said Mr Marx at 198, where *sicuti* is twice given by the MSS of Nonius, pp. 154 and 281? He said '*sicuti* bis traditum ap. Nonium noli euertere: esse uocabulum Lucilio pro dactylo hic locus euincit duplici nisus testimonio'. What did he say at 475 where Nonius' MSS twice give *tuquidem*, pp. 184 and 470? He said 'gratissimum fecerunt et Nonius quod u. 475 bis attulit et librarii quod nulla in eo scripturae extat discrepantia: unde suo iure Buechelerus . . . *tuquidem* pro anapaesto positum esse statuit'. What does he say at 662, where Nonius' MSS twice give *necesse*, pp. 254 and 337? He says 'de scriptura uersus satis constat duobus Nonii testimoniis'. And what does he say at 712, where Nonius' MSS twice give *ruperint*, pp. 88 and 382, and other editors of Lucilius change it to *ruperim*? He says 'at parum credibile est duobus eodem modo locis corruptum esse uocabulum *ruperint*'. No hint of the possibility that 'mendosum Lucilii hunc locum iam Nonius legit': that is to be forgotten when he is opposing a conjecture and recollected only when he is commending one. For example at 633 the MSS of Nonius give *agere* not twice but thrice, pp.



238, 243, 327; yet that does not prevent Mr Marx from reading *aggere*. At 983 Nonius twice gives *denique*, pp. 125 and 160, yet Mr Marx reads *deque*; at 1244 both Donatus and Probus give *expiauit*, yet Mr Marx reads *expirauit*; at 1331 Lactantius twice gives *rei*, inst. vi 5 2 and 6 7, yet Mr Marx reads *re*; at 1375 the MSS of Nonius in two places, pp. 121 and 353, and of Cicero in a third, Tusc. i 5 10, give *Sisyphius*, yet Mr Marx reads *Sisyphus*. Quite right too; and in defending *pictorum* against Mr Marx I shall not resort to the mock argument with which he defends *sicuti* and *tuquidem* and *necesse* and *ruperint* against others.

His conjecture, 'pergula fictorum ueri nihil, omnia ficta', hardly needs refuting: he tells us to supply 'continet', but only quotes examples of the omission of *facere* and *dicere*. I shall simply examine his objections to the vulgate, which are two.

First to the punctuation: 'minime probabile est simulacra deorum posse dici pergula fictorum uelut si dicantur opus fictorum'. But it is a natural and not uncommon licence to mention a place instead of the things which a place contains: Horace for instance at epist. ii 1 193 says 'captium portatur ebur, captiua Corinthus' for *aera Corinthia*, and at serm. ii 3 83 '*Anticyram . . . omnem*' for all the hellebore in Anticyra; and the receptacle often signifies the contents of the receptacle, as in Cic. ad Att. ii 1 1 where '*Isocrati myrothecium*' and '*eius discipulorum arculas*' are ranged side by side with '*Aristotelia pigmenta*'.

Secondly to the word *pictorum*: 'pictorum mentionem fieri probarem si antea de Acherontis fabulosa regione ageretur, uelut apud Lucr. iii 627: atqui in eos apparet inuehi scriptorem, [qui superstitiosa ueneratione signorum ridiculi sunt]. This shows that Mr Marx does not understand what Lucilius is saying; and for the same reason he is puzzled again at 488: 'cor inesse in aenis] mirum est quod tantummodo de aenis signis, non omnino de signis hoc loco loquitur poeta'. It would indeed be 'mirum', if Lucilius meant what Mr Marx thinks he means. But Lucilius is *not* talking about men who believe (what no men do believe but savages) that statues have life and sense; nor, if he were, would he say 'as children believe statues to be living men, so do these folk believe statues to have sense'; for he was a man of letters. He is talking about men who believe in the existence and activity and potency of ghosts and goblins, and he says that they are no better than children who fancy that images are alive. First he says this in simile, 'ut pueri . . . credunt signa . . . esse homines, sic isti somnia ficta uera putant'; then he says it in metaphor, 'credunt signis cor inesse in aenis', that is 'quod quid aliud est quam credere signis cor inesse in aenis?' The words 'pergula pictorum, ueri nil, omnia ficta' refer therefore not to *signa* but to *Lamias* and *terriculas*.

564. Non. p. 396 'sumere . . . eligere. Lucilius . . . lib. xix  
sume diem, qui est uisus tibi pulcherrimus unus'.

'huius memoria laeteris oportet' is the explanatory supplement of Mr Marx; Lucian Mueller says 'sume, i.e. *fruere*; nam nugatur Nonius'. It is impossible to



know, but I should have thought that Lucilius was here saying what Plato says in apol. 40 D ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι, εἴ τινα ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἐν ᾗ οὕτω κατέδαρθεν ὥστε μηδ' ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιπαράθεντα ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ δέοι σκεψάμενον εἰπεῖν, πόσας ἄμεινον καὶ ἡδιον ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ, οἶμαι ἂν μὴ ὅτι ἰδιώτην τινὰ ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, or Byron in Euthanasia ad fin. 'Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen, Count o'er thy days from anguish free, And know, whatever thou hast been, 'Tis something better not to be.' Single out the happiest day of your life, and say if it was happier than a night of dreamless sleep.

700. Non. p. 302 'ferre, pati . . . Lucilius lib. xxvii ceterum quidquid sit, quid non sit, ferre aequo animo ac fortiter'.

*quidquid* was independently altered to *quid* by Lachmann and L. Mueller, whose conjecture both Baehrens and Mr Marx accept:

ceterum, quid sit, quid non sit, ferre aequo animo ac fortiter.

I can scan this verse, but I cannot construe it. I see a transitive verb with nothing to govern, and a dependent interrogation with nothing to depend on. Turning to Mr Marx's commentary I find no sign that he has noticed anything out of the common: he quotes, like Mueller before him, the quite grammatical verse Plaut. trin. 994 'ceterum, qui sis, qui non sis, floccum non interduim', and he quotes Ter. Phorm. 130 'quod fors feret, feremus aequo animo,' which is no less grammatical. But how long has 'feram quid sit' been Latin either for 'non curabo quid sit' or for 'feram quodcumque erit'?

The *ferre* printed above is corrupted in one family of Nonius' MSS to *ferē*, in another to *fero*, and is preserved only by the third.<sup>1</sup> This third family, codd. Bern. 347, Montepess. 212, Oxon. 279, instead of *quid non*, presents *quasi non*, which had long ago been conjectured by Dousa. I should adopt this, and in the place of *ceterum* I should write, transposing two letters, *certumē*:

certum est, quidquid sit, quasi non sit, ferre aequo animo ac fortiter.

In 920 (Non. p. 289) we have 'certum est facere contra'.

948 sq. Non. p. 94 'cocsendices, coxas. Lucilius caput colos temtatur truncus sustinetur a cocsendicibus'.

For *colos temtatur* one MS has the correction *collo sustentatur*, and Gottfried Hermann, followed by Lachmann, reduces the words to metre thus:

*collo caput*

sustentatur, truncus sustinetur [a] cocsendicibus;

in which sentence the shift from *sustento* to *sustineo* is aimless and perverse. Lucian Mueller procures better diction and rhythm:

caput <ut> collo, sustentatur truncus [sustinetur a] cocsendicibus.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Marx has made no addition to Lucian Mueller's apparatus criticus for Nonius, and has not even availed himself of the additions made by others. Here his readers are left in ignorance of the variant *quasi*.



*sustinetur* he regards as a dittography of the preceding *sustentatur*: it may just as well be a gloss upon it, for *sustentat* is explained by *sustinet* in corp. gloss. Lat. iv 395 27. His retention of the MS order *caput collo* is recommended by the fragment of Nigidius in Isid. orig. xi 1 72 'caput collo uehitur, truncus sustinetur (*al. sustentatur*) coxis et genibus cruribusque'. Mr Marx says 'ego Lachmanni editionem sequi malui'; and when you expect him to give his reason for this preference he gives a *prima facie* reason against it, '*quamuis* legitima careat uersus caesura: qua in re septenarius iste minime est singularis'. The countervailing motive which enables him to surmount this obstacle he does not mention, for it is one which cannot be avowed.

Both conjectures, Hermann's and Mueller's, have a weakness in common, that they do not properly account for the presence of *a* before *cocsendicibus*. Now *ā* is one of the oldest abbreviations of *autem*, and if *autem* is here adopted, and the gloss or dittography *sustinetur* removed, the metre rights itself:

caput  
collo sustentatur, truncus autem cocsendicibus.

1041 sq. Non. p. 401 'subigere, mollire uel exercere . . . Lucilius lib. xxx

an ego te acuam atque animosam

Thessalam ut indomitam, frenis subigam ante domemque'.

p. 233 'animosi . . . iracundi . . . Lucilius lib. xxx

atque animosam

Thessaliam et indomitam frenis subigantque domemque'.

This sentence runs in Mr Marx's edition as follows,

anne ego te uacuam atque animosam,  
Thessalam ut indomitam, frenis subigamque domemque ?

*subigamque* is Bentinus', and seems right; Lachmann's *uacuam* is close to the letters and appropriate to the sense, and it does not appear that any such alteration as Turnebus' 'an *equam* te *acrem* atque animosam' is necessary, since 'Thessalam' can probably stand for 'equam Thessalam' as 'Lacon' and 'Molossus' often stand for 'canis Lacon (Molossus)' and as 'Apulidae' possibly stands for 'equi Apuli' in Lucil. 1109 (Fest. p. 313 10). But for *an*, instead of Lachmann's *anne*, I propose simply *an̄*, the abbreviated form of the *ante* which the MSS at Non. p. 401 present in the next verse:

an̄ te ego te uacuam atque animosam,  
Thessalam ut indomitam, frenis subigamque domemque.

The adverb probably belongs to the adjectives, 'te uacuam atque animosam ante *οὐραν̄*', and I do not seek any support for the conjecture from the other verses of Lucil. xxx (1043 sq.) cited on the same page of Nonius, 'tunc iugo iungas me *ante* et succedere aratro | inuitum et glaebas subigas proscindere ferro?', where *ante* is somewhat obscure ('mirificum' in modum languet' Mueller, 'ferri



nequit' Marx) and should perhaps be *autem* (*apte* Mueller, *anne* Marx): compare Ter. haut. 251 'quae res te sollicitat autem?'

1058. Non. p. 493 'inberbi pro inberbes. Lucilius lib. xxx

inberbi androgyni, barbati moechocinaedi.'

'sententiam enarrari oportet collato Theophrasto de nuptiis siue Seneca siue Hieronymo ap. Bockium stud. Lips. xix p. 62 "honoranda nutrix eius et gerula, seruus paternus et maternus, et alumnus, et formosus assecla, et procurator calamistratus, et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado, sub quibus nominibus adulteri delitescunt. quoscumque illa dilexerit, ii ingratiis amandi." ad *barbati* conf. Martial. vii 58 "iam sex aut septem nupsisti, Galla, cinaedis, dum coma te nimium pexaque barba iuuat"' Marx. The second of these citations is not inapposite; the first is wide of the mark, for the epithet *barbati* is enough to show that the *moechocinaedi* in question are not slaves. The right passage to quote is Cic. in Cat. ii 22 sq. 'quos pexo capillo, nitidos, *aut inberbis aut bene barbato*s uidetis, . . . . . in his gregibus . . . omnes *adulteri*, omnes *impuri impudicique* uersantur'. The persons meant are dissolute young men of fashion, 'expugnatores alienae pudicitiae, neglegentes suae', as Seneca says in contr. i praef. 9.

1071 sq. Non. p. 277 'delica est aperi et explana . . . Lucilius lib. xxx

nemo istum uentrem pertundet deliciet quae  
uti uia atque uidebis.'

*deliciet* is no part of *delicare*, so L. Mueller transposes the fragment to stand under the lemma 'delicere est inlicere' (where he wishes to insert 'delicere, inludere'), and writes

<si dubitet, iubeo te nostris dicere uerbis>  
'nemo istum uentrem pertundet delicietque';  
*ut ueniatque* uidebis;

which I do not understand; not even when he adds 'agitur de uocando ad cenam comedone'. Dousa on the other hand writes *delicet*, and Lachmann presents the passage thus:

'nemo istum uentrem pertundet' *delicet*: *aude*  
uti *ui*, atque uidebis;

but if *delicet* here means 'aperiat' or 'explanet' it does not seem to make sense or to have a construction. Mr Marx's conjecture<sup>1</sup> is so violent and yet so ineffectual that it need not be quoted; but the first four words he interprets 'immani uentris sagina tutum fore sodalem a latronis insidiis confirmat aliquis inter sodales': a strange sort of safety. It appears to me that the subject of conversation is some Brimo or Brynhild, whose indomitable virginity is vaunted by one of the speakers,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Marx adduces Cic. ad Att. ii 19 2 *utor uia*, means 'I take a middle course': the context admits 'quae locutio quid significet,' says he, 'non indagare no other sense. possumus nisi diuinando.' If it means anything, it



while the other expresses confidence in his own abilities. If so, very slight changes will elicit sense:

'nemo istum uentrem pertundet'. 'delicet, <ec>quae  
i n t <u s> uia, atque uidebis'.

That is 'edisserat, ecquae intro uia sit, atque ego faxo scias utrum pertundi possit necne', in plain language 'dummodo ne solide nata sit, ego eam stuprabo'. The subjunctive verb may be omitted after *ecquis* even in the purest prose, e.g. Cic. ad Att. ii 8 1 'quaero, ecquid litterarum: negant'. It will be objected that the vulgar use of *intus* for *intro* is expressly reprobated by Lucilius in 1215-7 (Char. G. L. K. i p. 11) '*intro* aliud longe esse atque *intus* uidemus, . . . *intro* nos uocat ad sese, tenet *intus*'. True; but in the same passage he also reprobates the use of *apud* for *ad*, '*apud* se longe alid est neque idem ualet *ad* se'; yet in 994 (Non. p. 552) he commits the offence himself, 'est . . . causam commenta uiai . . . *apud* aurificem'. Mr Marx therefore has some reason to say on 1215-7 'uix credideris Lucilium . . . haec ita docuisse . . . immo videtur poeta induxisse magistellum quendam loquentem'. And anyhow the speaker in 1072 does not appear to be Lucilius.

*intus*, i.e. *int*', has been shortened to *int* in the cod. Neap. of Charisius at Lucil. 1217; and *int* is nearly the same thing as *uti*. There is another passage of Lucilius where it seems likely that the same compendium has disappeared: 344 sq. (Non. p. 498)

si nil ad faciem et si olim lupa prostibulumque,  
nummi opus, atque obsit.

For *obsit* Lipsius conjectured *assis*; Mr Marx writes with less violence *subit*, 'poterit illa nummo conduci ad obsequium'. That seems to be the required sense, but for the phrase he finds no better parallels than Juvenal's 'Hispo subit iuuenes' and Propertius' 'uoluit liquido tota subire deo'. I suspect that the original was

nummi opus, atque op <u s> fit:

*op*' *fit* mistaken for *opsit*. Baehrens proposed *opus*, but spoilt his conjecture by adding *it*, an expression which nobody would have employed. The second *opus* will mean 'opus uenereum,' as in Mart. x 55 4 and often: this play on the two senses of a word is common in Latin and especially in early Latin, Lucil. 905 (Non. p. 364) 'cuius si in *periclo* feceris *periculum*', 1128 (Don. Ter. Andr. 183) '*carcer* uix *carcere* dignus'.

1134 sq. Corp. gloss. Lat. v. 233 21 s. u. pila 'peritissimi lusores habiti sunt Caelius atque Veturius. de Caelio sic dicit Lucilius: Caelius conlusor Galloni scurra trigonum cum ludet solus ludet et eludet'.

The second hexameter is unmetrical. Mr Gundermann, who first edited this fragment Rhein. Mus. xli p. 632, deleted *et eludet* as a gloss, which it cannot be; Mr Marx formerly transposed the words thus, 'solus ludet et eludet cum ludet', but now follows Mr Buecheler, who assumes a lacuna: 'cum ludet, solus . . . . . |



ludet et eludet'. When I compare the '*peritissimi* lusores' of the glossarist with Mart. xiv 46 (pila trigonalis) 'si me mobilibus *scis* expulsare sinistris | sum tua: tu *nescis*, rustice, redde pilam' and Hor. art. 379 sq. 'ludere qui *nescit*, campestribus abstinet armis, | *indoctusque* pilae disciue trochiue quiescit', it seems to me that the metre should be set right by the slightest and most appropriate of changes:

Caelius, conlusor Galloni, scurra, trigonum  
cum ludet, *scius* ludet et eludet — — —

The same mistake, OL for CI, occurs in Prop. i 5 8 'molliter irasci non *sciet* (*solet* MSS) illa tibi'; at Apoll. Sid. carm. v 194 the MSS are divided between *uiolatae* and *uiciatae*; and I never can read the glyconic fragment of Tcidas quoted by Priscian G.L.K. ii p. 189 without wishing to complete it thus,

felix lectule, talibus  
sole <conscie> amoribus.

*scius*, a word used by Pacuvius and Petronius both, is a fit word for Lucilius, whom Macrobius indeed describes as 'uir adprime linguae Latinae *scius*'.

1344 sq. Persius i 26 sq.

o mores! usque adeone  
scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?

schol. 'haec periodos apud Lucilium posita est: ut me scire uolo dicimus mimi conscius sum ne damnum faciam. scire hoc se nescit nisi alios id scire scierit'.

This last sentence, 'scire hoc . . . scierit', is the scholiast's own explanation of Persius or of Lucilius: the words are perfect sense and no metre, and to change them is to injure them. The first error of Lucilius' editors, which even Lachmann shares, is that they wring this prose into verse and then father it on Lucilius.

*id* me scire uolo *dici*, *mihi* conscius *ut sim*,  
ne damnum faciam, scire hoc *si nesciar et me*  
*id* nisi scire alios *scierim* *scire*

is Lachmann's presentation of the passage.<sup>1</sup> But he at any rate paid some heed to the sense: as for Lucian Mueller and Baehrens and Mr Marx, they have not even read the lines of Persius to which the scholion is attached. Witness their corrections:

Mueller (one MS has *mecum* for *me* and *nesciat me* for *nescit*),  
'*moechum* scire uolo.'—'*dicemus*. conscius sum *mi*; at  
ne damnum faciam, scire hoc *sibi nesciat is me*'.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Buecheler at Pers. i 27 rightly discards all that follows *faciam*: in the words of Lucilius he modifies Lachmann's conjecture thus, 'ut me scire uolo *dici*, *mihi* conscius *si* sum, | ne damnum faciam', which is nearer the MSS but inferior in all other respects. The next words Mr Leo (Goett. gel. Anz. 1906 p. 858) transposes as follows, 'scire hoc nescit

se, alios id | scire nisi scierit'; but *nisi scierit* is not Lucilian, and a similar exception must be taken to Mr Leo's conjecture (ib. pp. 840 and 856) in verse 833 (Non. p. 405) 'signabat nihil | quem amaret', for there is no evidence that Lucilius pronounced *nihil* as a disyllable.



Baehrens,

'*moechum* scire uolo; *dic im mihi!*' conscius sum; *sed*  
ne damnum faciam, scire hoc *te ne sciat a me*'.

Marx,

ut me scire uolo, *dum* mimi conscius, *summum*  
ne damnum faciam, scire hoc se nescit . . .

—the words 'nisi alios id scire scierit' being left to shift for themselves. Mr Marx, after quoting such irrelevant things as Plaut. Bacch. 791 'nescio etiam id quod scio' and most. 1156 'fecit quae te scire scit', and after averring, quite falsely, that 'mimi conscia (I do not even know what this phrase could mean) inducitur apud Horatium serm. ii 7 59', proceeds as follows: 'itaque hoc modo interpretor: non quemuis hominem in re turpi oportet esse loquacem neque meae domus turpia facta si quae sunt foras efferre: sicut me scire uolo, si ueluti uxor adulterium fecit, dum mimi conscius, summum ne damnum faciam, scire hoc se nescit id est tacet'. Of this 'interpretatio' I will only say that it postulates two madmen. Lucilius was mad if he indited such matter, and the scholiast was mad if he quoted it at Pers. i 27. 'Is your knowledge naught', says Persius, 'unless another knows that you know?' 'This sentence' says the scholiast 'occurs in Lucilius', and then he cites Lucilius; and Lucilius' editors, instead of attending either to the scholiast or to Persius, entertain us with romances of adultery.

I do not pretend that I can restore Lucilius' words, but their sense was of this sort:

*sit* me scire uolo *Decimus* mihi conscius *Sura*,  
ne damnum faciam.

'I wish that another man, as well as myself, should know that I know, for fear lest I prove a loser', that is, for fear lest I miss the pleasure of knowing. Of D. Sura I can tell you no more than of L. Trebellius and half-a-dozen other names in Lucilius,<sup>1</sup> and I do not even vouch for his existence; but it will not be easy to procure an appropriate sense by slighter alterations. *ra* and *m* are often exchanged, as at Luc. vii 209, where one MS has *cum* for *cura*, and Manil. iii 565, where two MSS have *cura* for *cum*; and *ut* for *sit* is given by the cod. Leidensis at Non. p. 50 21. To name a particular person, if that person was known to be a chatter-box, would add point to what is said.

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<sup>1</sup> Or than Mr Marx can tell of Titinius, whom at 169 (Non. p. 427) he first creates out of the *titene* of the MSS, then afflicts with the vice of gluttony, and then consigns to Tartarus. Others write 'Tisi-

phone *Tityi e pulmonibus atque adipe unguen | excoctum attulit, Eumenidum sanctissima Erinys*', but this fact Mr Marx has judged it prudent to conceal.

## FURTHER NOTES ON THE GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS.

(Continued from page 36.)

### ANAXANDRIDES.

1. 5 I do not profess to understand lines 5 and 6. It is however clear that one λέγειν is due to the other, and the first seems most likely to be wrong. On that assumption, which is the usual one, I would suggest ἐθέλεις to take its place.

17 ὁ τὸ σκόλιον εὐρών ἐκείνος, ὅστις ἦν,  
τὸ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν πρῶτον ὡς ἄριστον ὄν  
ὠνόμασεν ὀρθῶς· δεύτερον δ' εἶναι καλόν,  
τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν, τοῦθ' ὅρᾳς, ἐμαίνετο.

ὅρᾳς (or ὀρᾳς;) should perhaps be ὀρίσας, and εὐρών in the first line εἰπών. We find ὁ πρῶτος εὐρών κ.τ.λ. two or three times in these fragments (Anaxandrides 30: Alexis 148 and 185: Eubulus 72: Menander 14), but with τὸ σκόλιον εὐρών is less appropriate than εἰπών, for which cf. Alexis 27 ὁ πρῶτος εἰπών κ.τ.λ., and Kock's Ἀδέσποτα 115 (3. 429). In Dem. 14. 14 and 36 I have suggested a similar change: see *Class. Rev.* xviii. 11. In late Greek we find such expressions as εἰπεῖν τραγηδίαν, εἰπεῖν δράμα.

33. 5 ἐπὶ τίνα δ' ὦδ' ἄλλην τέχνην, ὦ χρηστὲ σύ,  
τὰ στόματα τῶν νεωτέρων κατακάετ' ἢ  
ὠθισμός ἐστι δακτύλων τοιουτοσί;

It has been remarked that ἐπὶ τίνα τέχνην is not well constructed with κατακάετ'αι, but we may notice further that κατακάετ'αι itself is a surprising word in this context. It means *burnt down* and does not appear ever to be used in the sense here needed. We should get both good sense and good grammar, if we might exchange the two prepositions and read κατὰ τίνα . . . τέχνην . . . τὰ στόματα . . . ἐπικάετ'αι; 'what other art sets their mouths so aflame?'

δακτύλων, for which γαστρίδων, δαιταλέων, and δαιτυμόνων have been suggested, seems perfectly apposite and good, but possibly τοιουτοσί ought to be τοσουτοσί.

34. 4 ὄψιν may be the missing word.

41. 21 Perhaps Θήβαις ταῖς ἑπταπύλοις.

52 The *ἀλλά* in line 9 seems to indicate something lost before it, for it has no sort of point. It may however be due to the *ἀλλ' ἔλαβεν* in 11 and have taken the place of a word quite different, e.g. *εἰ δ'*.

In 7 read *αὐθις*, as has been suggested, for *αὐτός*, or possibly *αὐ τις*.

## EUBULUS.

9 ἕτεροι δὲ θεοῖσι συμπεπλεγμένοι  
μετὰ Καραβου σύνεισι,

and fare badly, since Carabus eats everything before they get a chance. 'τοῖς θεοῖσι Casaub. θεοισέχθοις vel θηρίοις Herwerd.' Kock. Perhaps we may conjecture *ἐτέροις δὲ <τοῖς> θεοῖσι*, *ἐτέροις* being used in the sense of *adverse*, as in Pindar *P.* 3. 34 *δαίμων δ' ἕτερος ἐς κακὸν τρέψαις ἑδαμάσσατό νιν*, just as it means *evil* in the Platonic and common *πλέον θάτερον ποιεῖν*. Cf. on Timocles 31 below.

25 A line is lost between 1 and 2, containing some words with a *δέ*.

90 *ὑποστορεῖτε* is not a question, but like the other futures is semi-imperative.

115 καὶ γὰρ πόσῳ κάλλιον, ἰκετεύω, τρέφειν  
ἄνθρωπον ἐστ' ἄνθρωπον, ἂν ἔχη βίον  
ἢ χῆνα . . ἢ στρουθὸν κ.τ.λ.

Kock rightly points out that *πόσῳ* cannot stand as an exclamation in place of *ὅσῳ*. It would be distinctly interrogative, not exclamatory. Is *οὐ γὰρ σοφῶ* too bold a guess? That of course would be a question, like *Amphis* 17 below.

119. 11 ἔπειτα φάναι.

Probably *φάσκειν* rather than *ἔπειτα δὲ φάναι* or *φάναι δ' ἔπειτα*.

## NICOSTRATUS.

5 ὃν οὐκ ἂν καταφάγοιμεν ἡμερῶν  
τριῶν ἤδη κατεσθίοντες οὐ δώδεκά γε.

The last line has somehow gone extravagantly wrong and any restoration must be guess-work. Cobet would read *τριῶν κατεσθίοντες ὄντες δώδεκα*, Porson having previously proposed *τ. κ. οὐδὲ δ*. We might think of something like

*κατεσθίοντες οὐδὲ δέκα γε καὶ τριῶν,*

comparing for *οὐδὲ δέκα γε* Eur. *I. T.* 570 *οὐδ' οἱ σοφοί γε δαίμονες κ.τ.λ.* and for thirteen as a humorous number Ar. *Frogs* 50 *καὶ κατεδύσαμέν γε ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων ἢ δώδεκ' ἢ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα (καί . . γε and οὐδέ . . γε are parallel to one another);* or, to bring in *ἤδη*,

*κατεσθίοντες οὐδὲ δέκ' ἤδη καὶ τριῶν.*



## AMPHIS.

17 ὁ πατήρ γε τοῦ ζῆν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἀγρός,

Probably ὁ δοτήρ.

33. 4 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ συντετάχθαι διὰ τέλους  
φρόνησις οὖσα κ.τ.λ.

For ἐπὶ write ἀπό, parallel to ἡ δὲ διὰ τὸ μή . . διαλελογίσθαι in line 7. ἐπὶ could only mean something like *applied to*, as in 3. 3. ἐπὶ τοῦ μαθήματος γὰρ ἐστηκὼς ὁ νοῦς.

## EPHIPPUS.

5. 15 ζεύγη προσάγειν | μηνῶν ὀκτὼ συνεχῶς ἑκατόν.

Neither Meineke nor Kock notices the use of the genitive for duration of time. The grammars ignore it, and I know no other instance before Lucian and Pausanias. But the present passage can hardly be wrong. After περιηγέλλειν τε in line 18, something is probably omitted.

15 ἀλλ' ἀγόρασον εὐτελῶς·  
ἄπαν γὰρ ἱκανόν ἐστι. B. φράζε δὴ ποτε.

The last words have been a good deal corrected. Perhaps φράζε δὴ τὸ τί.

## ANAXILAS.

35 Pollux speaks of a lady's dress (τὰ περίνησα), bordered by purple νήσου σχῆμα ποιούσα τῇ περιρροῇ τοῦ χρώματος. καὶ ταῦτ' ἴσως νήσον Ἀναξίλας ἀπεκάλει (ἀποκαλεῖ?), εἰ μὴ ἕτερόν τι ὕφασμα δηλοῖ, ὅταν εἴπῃ

καὶ πῶς γυνὴ  
ὥσπερ θάλατταν νήσον ἀμφιέννυται ;

in which Meineke reads θάλαττα. But ἀμφι- certainly does not describe the relation of an island to the sea which contains and surrounds it. One naturally thinks of ὥσπερ θάλατταν νήσος, but that does not very well fit the words of Pollux. It is possible however that he misunderstood them, and he only says ἴσως after all. I am not sure that καὶ πῶς should not be καί πως without a question.

## ARISTOPHON.

4 ἂν τις ἐστιᾶ, πάρειμι πρῶτος, ὥστ' ἤδη πύλαι  
ζωμὸς καλοῦμαι.

For the few missing syllables Grotius supplied παρὰ νέων.

He was right, I think, as to the meaning, but for the form I should prefer τοῖς νέοις, comparing for the dative Epicrates 5 'παῖ παῖ' καλεῖσθαι παρὰ πότον, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀγενεῖω μειρακυλλίω τινί. Besides Plautus *Menaechmi* 77 we have Antiphanes 195. 10 καλοῦσί μ' οἱ νεώτεροι διὰ ταῦτα πάντα σκηπτόν, and Alexis 178 καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ νεώτεροι παράσιτον ὑποκόρισμα.

10. 7 A man describes himself as ἐλαίῳ μήτε χρῆσθαι μήθ' ὄραν κοινορτός, i.e. he is like dust, equal to dust, at not doing so and so. μὴ χρῆσθαι ἐλαίῳ is simple, but what is μὴ ὄραν? It seems usually regarded as wrong, and there are various conjectures of which the last is Herwerden's μὴ τι χρῆσθαι μηδ' ὄναρ (*Collectanea*, p. 117). But it admits of defence. I take it to mean not μὴ ὄραν ἔλαιον, but μὴ ὄραν ἐλαίῳ χρωμένους. Probably the only ordinary opportunity for seeing this was in the palaestra or on similar occasions. The whole expression would therefore mean one who neither took such exercise himself nor went where he would see others taking it. The athlete's oil was as alien from him as from dust: there was no more mixing and commingling in the one case than in the other.

## EPICRATES.

2. 3 line 21 ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτὴν ῥᾷόν ἐστι καὶ πτύσαι,  
ἐξέρχεται τε πανταχόσ' ἤδη πιομένη.

ἢ πτύσαι (Herwerden) is no doubt right, but what are we to do with πιομένη? Herwerden suggests πετομένη, and there are other inferior suggestions. πιθομένη occurs to me as possible, and it is nearer to the MS. than any. It would mean *at call*, when asked or summoned. Lais is willing.

In line 14 read γ' αὖν for γοῦν.

11. 7 τάδε μοι πινυτῶς, εἴ τι κατειδὼς  
ἦκεις, λέξον πρὸς γᾶς.

Porson λέξον φέρε πρὸς γᾶς, Cobet λέξον πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, Erfurdt λέξον δὴ πρὸς τᾶς γᾶς. Against Porson's insertion is the order of the words, for φέρε should precede λέξον. Perhaps we might read λέξον, φίλε, πρὸς γᾶς.

In 32 certainly read τοιαῖσδε with the MS., ταῖσδε being impossible, as it does not refer to the place of the speakers. τοιαῖσδε ποιεῖν τοιαῦτ' ἀπρεπές, τοιαῖσδ' ἀπρεπές τ. π., and one or two other variations are equally possible. I do not like Dindorf's τοιαῖσδε τοιαῦτα.

## ALEXIS.

22. 1 ὦ τὴν εὐτυχὴ ναιῶν Πάρον, ὀλβιε πρέσβυ.

εὐτειχῇ seems unsuitable, εὐανγῇ (Kock) unlikely. But is there any reason why Alexis may not have written εὐτυχέα with *a* lengthened before the liquid *v*, as in *Il.* 15. 463 εὐστρεφέα νευρήν: *Od.* 6. 105 ἄμα νύμφαι, etc.? In line 3 we have the epic form μακάρεσσι, and εὐτυχῆς is quite suitable to the context, the praises of Paros.

62. 3 ἀποβεβαμμένας  
εἰς οὐχὶ ταῦτόν μὰ Δία, τὴν αὐτὴν μύρον,  
ιδίῳ δ' ἐκάστην.

*Scribendum utique ἴδιον* (Kock). I would rather read ἰδίως (Plato *Laws* 807 B) or ἰδία.



107. 1 Insert perhaps ἐγγύς.

116 δὺ' ἐστί, Ναυσίνικε, παρασίτων γένη,  
 ἐν μὲν τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κεκωμῶδημένον,  
 οἱ μέλανες ἡμεῖς· θάτερον ζητῶ γένος,  
 σεμνοπαράσιτον ἐκ μέσου καλούμενον,  
 . . . . .  
 νοεῖς σὺ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ;

Meineke did not apparently doubt ζητῶ, but the speaker describes the class in question and asks Nausinicus if he understands (or notices) it, so that ζητῶ is not at all suitable. Blaydes reads ζηλῶ, Kock ζηλωτέον, etc., but there is no indication that the man is not content to remain among οἱ μέλανες. Herwerden θάτερον δὲ λέγω. ἐκ μέσου is also unintelligible, the regular phrase being to remove a thing ἐκ μέσου. ἐν μέσῳ (Kock) is not very much better, without some new reading for ζητῶ, and Herwerden's ἐμμέτρως unlikely. It is reasonable to think that the two corruptions may go together. Much the easiest correction of ἐκ μέσου is εἰς μέσον, for ἐκ and εἰς are very easily confused (κ and ις). Does ζητῶ suggest anything that would naturally go with εἰς μέσον? Perhaps we may read θάτερον δ' ἡκεῖ γένος . . . εἰς μέσον i.e. 'has become well known' or in the commoner sense of εἰς μέσον ἐλθεῖν 'entered into the competition.' δ' ἡκεῖ is not however very near to ζητῶ, and I do not suggest this very confidently. [Headlam's ἀπροσίτους for παρασίτους in line 5 and τοῖς μὲν . . . μεγάλους προσέειπε, τοῖς δ' ἐλάττονας in 11, 12 should almost certainly be accepted.] The meaning of 11, 12, though obscurely expressed, is that, as fortune gives us greater or smaller lives, so she gives us greater or smaller men to deal with.

124. 18 πολλῶ γ' ἄμεινον, ὥς ἔοικας, ἦσθ' ἄρα  
 λογογράφος ἢ μάγειρος. ΓΑ. δὲ λέγεις οὐ λέγεις,  
 τέχνην δ' ὀνειδίζεις.

Cobet explains the odd δ . . . λέγεις as *quod vis dicere non dicis*, i.e. *quod dicis non significat id quod tu putas*: 'you don't succeed in saying what you are trying to say.' It would much more naturally signify 'you don't mean what you say.' Cf. Ar. *Rhet.* 3. 11. 1412 a 33 τὰ δὲ παρὰ γράμμα (σκόμματα) ποιεῖ οὐχ ὃ λέγει λέγειν and a few lines before (a 22) τὰ ἀστεία ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὃ φησι λέγειν.

125. 7 There is no need to alter τῆς ἀξίας. ἀποδιδόμενοι is understood with it from ἀποδῶτ' ἐλάττονος ἣς εἶπε τιμῆς.

162. 5 Read διαπεινῶσιν and αὐτοῖς (Kock αὐτοῖς and διαπεινῶμεν) for the MS. δειπνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς . . . The three are the younger people, the two are the old woman who speaks and her old husband. The old fare a little better than the young. I do not see how διαπεινῶμεν and συγκοινωνοῦμεν can stand together, as Kock makes them.



- 163 τραγήματ' αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ ὅτι νομίζεται  
τοῖς νυμφίοις μετιοῦσι τὴν νυμφὴν λέγεις  
παρέχειν, ἄμητας καὶ λαγῶα καὶ κίχλας.  
τούτοισι χαίρω, τοῖς δὲ κεκαρυκευμένοις  
ὄψοισι καὶ ζωμοῖσιν ἤδωμ', ὦ θεοί;

For λέγεις Herwerden proposes ἀεί, as Meineke did long ago. λέγειν would give good enough sense. I should take τοῖς ν. as its subject, going with νομίζεται: they bid (their slaves) give them these things; but the order might be νομίζεται λέγειν παρέχειν τοῖς νυμφίοις, 'it is usual to bid (the slaves) provide bridegrooms with' etc.

In the last line there are the fairly plausible emendations οὐδάμ' (Jacobs) and μηδάμ' (Kock i.e. μηδάμα χαίροιμι). ἀνιδμ' seems not impossible. For ὦ θεοί, cf. Nicostratus 5. 1, etc.

- 212 οὐτ' ἂν ἀδικοῖτ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς οὐθ' ὑβρίζειτ' ἂν ἐκών.

This, says the speaker, would be the case, if man did not need food. For the last words, which make neither sense nor metre, Ahrens conjectured and Kock reads οὐθ' ὑβρίζοι τῶν ἐκών, Ahrens also proposing ἀδικοῖ γ' for ἀδικοῖτ'. But ἐκών would be entirely superfluous, for ὑβρις must in all ordinary cases be intentional and the exceptions need not be carefully provided for. This suggestion therefore will not really do. I should look to ἐκών itself as the seat of the corruption, for it can hardly make sense in such a line, the passage having nothing in common with Aristotle *Ethics* 5. 9. 1-7. ἂν, though quite unobjectionable, is unnecessary, and so we have the three syllables ἂν ἐκών on our hands. We might perhaps turn them into ἄκακος ὦν, just as reversely in Dio Chrys. 38. 16, οὐ κακὸν ὄντα stands for οὐκ ἂν ὄντα. No innocent, inoffensive person would be wronged, insulted, outraged. ἄκακος occurs in Anaxilas 33.

240. 6 ἀεὶ σὺ χαίρεις, ὦ γύναι, μ' αἰνίγμασιν.

There are several suggestions for emending this, none, I think, satisfactory. I would add the bold conjecture that for ἀεὶ σὺ χαίρεις we should read ἀπολείς σὺ χαίρουσ': as in 173. 15, Antiphanes 222. 8 ἀπολεῖ μ' οὐτοσί: Menander 533. 1 ἀπολεῖ με τὸ γένος: Strato 1. 30 διανοεῖ μ' ἀπολλύναι; Theognetus 1. 1 ἀνθρῶπ', ἀπολείς με: Pherecrates 108. 20 οἴμ' ὡς ἀπολείς μ' ἐνταῦθα διατρίβουσ' ἔτι, where the expression is exactly parallel, and so Agathon 13 ἀπολείς μ' ἐρωτῶν, Eur. *Cycl.* 558: Aristoph. often, e.g. *Ach.* 470, *Wasps* 849, 1202. Cf. also Antiphanes 52. 5 ἀποκτενεῖς ἄρα μ' εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.

245. 13 There is nothing wrong with ἡ φιλοτιμία δὲ δαίμονος as an attribute of love, who has been called τοῦ δαίμονος already in line 5. He has various attributes such as belong to various people and things, and this one is such as belongs to his own semi-divine nature. He demands τιμή, like Aphrodite in the *Hippolytus* (8, 1402, etc.), Dionysus in the *Bacchae* (208, 321, etc.). The τιμή of Ἔρως is ἔρως, as indeed it is also of Aphrodite.

Nor do I see anything amiss in 254, though it has been a good deal called in question.

262 Read διαπραξάμενος <ἄν> ἥδιον βίον, 'when he might secure' (or possibly *accomplish*) a pleasanter life.'

267 Heaven itself does not rank before a mother :

ὄθεν ὁ πρῶτος οὐκ ἀπαιδευτὸς ἔχων  
ιδρύσαθ' ἱερὸν μητρός, οὐ δείξας σαφῶς  
ποιῆας.

For ὁ πρῶτος I would venture to suggest πρὸ τοῦ τις. πρὸ τοῦ is usually said of what *used* to be or not to be, but it can also refer to a single event, *e.g.* Ar. *Poet.* 15. 1454 b 3.

#### CLEARCHUS.

5 οἶνος Λέσβιος,  
ὅν αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν ὁ Μάρων μοι δοκῶ.

Meineke read ἐμοί, leaving a most unrhythmical line, or conjectured ἐξεποίησεν. But why should Maron, who lived in Thrace, be the ideal producer of Lesbian wine? Lesbian wine should rather be compared for its excellence to the famous vintages of Maron: that is, we want οἶον for ὄν, and should then put αὐτός after ἐποίησεν.

Kock quotes parallels for this use of μοι δοκῶ (instead of δοκεῖ), but does it seem probable?

#### AXIONICUS.

6. 12 πονηρὸς ὧν τε χρηστὸς εἶναι φησί τις.

Read τι for τε, as τε is now read for τι in Timocles 4. 4. The point is not that the man is of a bad sort, but that he is bad at some specific thing, *e.g.* a game. It is an uncommon but not an unparalleled use of χρηστός, facilitated by πονηρός.

#### DIONYSIUS.

2. 15 οὕτως ἐφ' ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.

'So with us' or 'in our case.' But this needs ἐφ' ἡμῶν. ἐφ' ἡμῖν is *in our power*.

ib. 21 I suggest εὖ οἶδε ταῦτά to fill the gap.

4 Κηφισόδωρόν φασιν ἐπικαλούμενον  
πλάνον τιν' ἐν Ἀθήναις γενέσθαι, τὴν σχολὴν  
εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ βίου καταχρώμενον·  
τοῦτον ἐντυχόντα πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἀνατρέχειν  
ἢ συγκαθεῖναι τῇ 'πὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.

Kock makes the excellent restoration

τοῦτον ταχὺν ὄντα - -  
ἤσυχα δὲ κατιέναι 'πὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ,



most of which I would gladly accept, not seeing any force in the objections of Herwerden (*Collectanea* p. 135). But I do not like *ταχὺν ὄντα* separately and still less disregarding *τῇ* altogether, and I would therefore read

*ἤσυχᾳ κατιέναι τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.*

*ἀνατρέχειν* depends on *ταχύν*. *τὴν* is *τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ* (ὁδόν), the way of walking with the help of a stick, *ὁδός* not unfrequently having the sense not of a *road* but of a *journey*, a *going*, etc., and being indeed the substantive corresponding to *ίέναι*.

## HENIOCHUS.

5. 17 δημοκρατία θατέρᾳ  
ὄνομ' ἐστί, τῇ δ' ἀριστοκρατία θατέρᾳ.

It is very unlikely that Heniochus would write the article with *θατέρᾳ*, impossible that he should separate them by *ἀριστοκρατία*. Blaydes and Herwerden are therefore right in trying to correct the verse, but their suggestions are not at all convincing. I would rather read *τοῦνομα* for *θατέρᾳ*. If we emphasize *ἀριστοκρατία*, the repetition of *ὄνομα* is not disagreeable. The copyist has but repeated the wrong word.

## TIMOCLES.

1. 1 πῶς ἂν μὲν οὖν σώσειεν ἱβίς ἢ κύων ;

Neither *μὲν* nor *οὖν* appears apposite. *πῶς ἂν με νῦν* Meineke. *πῶς ἂν τιν' οὖν* Kock. Perhaps *πῶς δὴ τιν' ἂν*.

31 τοῖς μὲν τεθνεώσιν ἔλεος ἐπιεικῆς θεός,  
τοῖς ζῶσι δ' ἕτερον ἀνοσιώτατος φθόνος.

For *ἕτερον* Meineke suggested *ἔφεδρος*, and Herwerden would write *ἔργων*. Haupt's *ἕτερος adverse* (see on Eubulus 9 above) seems to me better than either, but it does not account for the termination in *-ον* and *ἀνοσιώτατος* is awkward with it. I would therefore read the partitive genitive *ἐτέρων of adverse powers*. Kock has proposed *ἐχθρός* and Headlam *ἐχθρῶν*, but the word is not nearly so suitable. We want something to carry on the half literal, half metaphorical idea of *ἐπιεικῆς θεός*. If compassion is a divinity, envy should be so too, and no doubt Timocles has in his mind also the *φθόνος* of the gods, *τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐστι φθονερόν*, etc.

## XENARCHUS.

1 φθίνει δόμος  
ἀνυστάτοισι δεσποτῶν κεχρημένος  
κακοῖς.

Perhaps *ἀνυποστάτοισι irresistible, intolerable*, though the tragic rhythm of the burlesque is rather against it.



4. 18 ἄς δ' οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστ' οὐθ' ὁρῶντ' ἰδεῖν σαφῶς,  
 ἀεὶ δὲ τετρεμαίνοντα καὶ φοβούμενον,  
 δεδιότα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα.

Read οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστ' οὐθ' ἰδόνθ' ὁρᾶν σαφῶς. There are many cases of two adjoining words getting thus confused. In the third line I would suggest *δεδιότα* τ' . . . ἔχειν. *δεδιότα* is not a mere pleonasm along with *φοβούμενον*, because that goes with ὁρᾶν and the other with ἔχειν. Whether *ψυχὴν* should be altered is another matter. For the change of *ἔχοντα* to *ἔχειν* cf. Alexis 116. 6, where it is clear that *ἔχοντα* should be *ἔχον*.

## THEOPHILUS.

- 6 οὐ συμφέρον νέα 'στι πρεσβύτη γυνή.  
 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄκατος οὐδὲ μικρὸν πείθεται  
 ἐνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πείσμ' ἀπορρήξασα δὲ  
 ἐκ νυκτὸς ἕτερον λιμέν' ἔχουσ' εὕρίσκεται.

The meaning is apparently not that of the parallel passage in Theognis 457 foll. which must have suggested these lines. There the wife does not obey the paddle, as the *ἄκατος* does, nor remain at anchor, *ἀπορρήξασα δὲ κ.τ.λ.* Here the *ἄκατος* itself, to which she is compared, is supposed not to obey ἐνὶ πηδαλίῳ. Presumably the *ἄκατος* is towed by a bigger vessel and has no paddle of its own: this is not enough, and it breaks loose. So the wife will not follow in her husband's wake, but she breaks loose too. As far as I can see, the critics do not quite make this out.

12. 8 A lover says of his mistress:—

- ἦν ἔστ' ἰδεῖν ἡδίων ἢ τὸ θεωρικόν  
 ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν διανέμειν ἐκάστοτε.

ὕμῃν διαπονεῖν Herwerden, ὕμῃν διαλαλεῖν Kock (ὕμῃν Grotius), understanding ὕμῃν to be the spectators and the verb to apply to the actor acting a part before them. Both verbs are unnatural, and the whole idea of the actor thus dropping his character in the play and addressing the spectators is inconceivable. Even in Aristophanes, where it does occur, it is introduced in a very different way. The passage is an obscure one and presents great difficulty. With considerable doubt I would suggest the very slight change to *ἔχουσιν*. Her personal attractions make her pleasanter to see than if she had (or than a woman who had) theoric money to distribute. It is very far-fetched, but the words must apparently be that with any reading or interpretation.

## PHILEMON.

- 4 σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας ἡῦρες ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων  
 σὲ γὰρ λέγουσι τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον νόμον,  
 δημοτικόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον,  
 (καὶ μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρμοστόν Σόλων)



μεστὴν ὀρώντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων,  
 τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν  
 ἀμαρτάνοντας τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσήκον ἦν,  
 στήσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους  
 κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.

A good many changes are needed here. In 1, 2 Kock would make Σόλων and νόμον change places. This may be dispensed with, if we write σὲ γὰρ . . . πρῶτον as a parenthesis. Then what is the point of 4, *this is suitable for me to say*? Should it not be σοί, anything δημοτικόν being characteristic of Solon? The line need not, perhaps should not, be made parenthetical. In 8 τοι is unmeaning, and it is hard to see what it can stand for: Meineke's τότε would be very feeble. Read perhaps στήσαι σε πριάμενον and omit τοι as a stop-gap inserted when σε was lost. σε seems required, for it is difficult to supply. In 9 I have previously suggested κοινούς and κατεσκευασμένους for κοινὰς and κατεσκευασμένας, and I still prefer κατεσκευασμένους to Herwerden's παρεσκευασμένας.

With τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν cf. Dem. 21. 60 οὐδεὶς πώποτε τοῦτ' εἶδεν τὸ πλεονέκτημα: 25. 41 οὗτος πρῶγμ' ἐόρακεν μιὰρὸν καὶ ἀναιδές: 57. 49 οὐδὲν ἐώρα τούτων. It seems to mean *thought of*.

22 κἂν δοῦλος ᾗ τις, οὐδὲν ἦττον, δέσποτα,  
 ἄνθρωπος οὗτός ἐστιν, ἂν ἄνθρωπος ᾗ.

I think there should be no doubt that C. F. Hermann's ἂν ἄνθρωπος ᾗς is right, *if you have proper human feeling*. Cf. Menand. 761 ὡς χαρίεν ἐστ' ἄνθρωπος, ὅταν ἄνθρωπος ᾗ: Ter. *Ad.* 107 et tu illum tuum, *si esses homo*, sineres nunc facere: Cic. *Phil.* 2. 16. 39 homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, *si modo homines sunt*, interdum animis relaxantur. Herodas 5. 15 ἐγὼ μὲν, Γάστρων, ἢ σε θεῖσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις illustrates rather ἄνθρωπος οὗτός ἐστιν.

73. 7 ἡ λύπη δ' ἔχει  
 ὥσπερ τὰ δένδρα τοῦτο καρπὸν τὸ δάκρυον.

τοῦτο seems unlikely. Perhaps Philemon wrote ὥσπερ τὰ δένδρα καρπὸν, οὕτω τὸ δάκρυον (or τὰ δάκρυα, which Plutarch's text gives as against Stobaeus). In 31. 7 Dobree corrected τούτοις with great probability to οὕτως. There is no objection to the dactyl in the fifth foot, e.g. 76. 4 εἰ λέγοι τις Σικελικά.

93. 5 ἦν δ' ἂν εἰσενέγκηται φύσιν  
 ἕκαστον, εὐθύς καὶ νόμον ταύτην ἔχει.

εἰσενέγκηται *contributes* does not seem right, nor even *brings to bear*, if we translate the word so. Did not Philemon write ἐξενέγκηται, *produces, develops*?

95. 3 I think ἀπό should be ὑπό. The ἐποίησε twice following seems to show that the meaning of 3 is not 'from the time of,' but ἐγενήθη ὑπό 'was created by,' and in this sense ἀπό would be wrong.

96. 6 For τὸν βίον ὁρῶ read possibly τὸν βίοτον. The word however does not seem to occur except in serious poetry, for the one passage cited in Meineke's index is clearly shown by several words (θανών, χθονός, χρεών, not to mention ἐπαυρέσθαι) not to come from a comic poet, nor is it cited in L. and S. from any prose author.

101. 1 Adopting one or other of Kock's suggestions, we might put ἐγώ in the line before. Perhaps he means that.

183 Read οὐχ ὅτι or οὐ τεθαύμακ' εἰ. There is no point in Kock's οὐκέτι, for ἔτι is quite inappropriate, as far as I can see. His Νόθῳ for νόμῳ does not commend itself to me. Is the simple dative in referring to a play ever found in Diodorus? It is common later.

## DIPHILUS.

17. 5 For αὐτῆς read αὐτή γ'.

32. 6 εἰαν ἀπολαύειν τοῦτον ἤδη τὸν βίον.

Read τοῦ βίου.

60           ταλαιπωρότερον οὐδέν ἐστι γὰρ  
τῆς γαστρούς, εἰς ἣν πρῶτον ἐμβάλοις,  
ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕτερον ἀγγεῖον.

Meineke's βρωτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς ἅπαν will not do, because the first thing mentioned is soup, which is not βρωτόν an *eatable*; nor Kock's πάντ' ἂν ἐμβάλοις ἅμα, because there is no question of putting in everything, or even two things, together. πάντα however may well be right, and I should suggest εἰς ἣν πρῶτα μὲν πάντ' ἐμβαλεῖς. The μὲν has no regular δέ following, but κοῦ προστίθημι τᾶλλα takes its place.

There is nothing wrong in ἀλλ' .. ἀγγεῖον without a preposition. Cf. for instance Ar. Plut. 399

XPE. οὐκ ἔστι πω τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῳ.   BAE. τί φῆς;  
οὐ τῷ μεταδοῦναι;

Theocr. 1. 117 οὐκέτ' ἀνὰ δρυμῶς, οὐκ ἄλσεα.

62           ἀγνοεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς  
ὅτι ἐστίν, εἰ τις μὴ φράσει' ὀρθῶς ὁδὸν  
ἢ πῦρ ἐναύσει' ἢ διαφθείρει' ὕδωρ.

I doubt whether ἢ πῦρ ἐναύσειε can stand without a μή. In any case it is singularly awkward that this clause should be negative in meaning and the next positive. Should we read μὴ πῦρ ἐναύσει', ἢ δ. ὕ.?

## MENANDER.

6. 3 Read δέ for γάρ. περισκελέστερον certainly means 'more firmly.'

23 ἴδιον ἐπιθυμῶν μόνος μοι θάνατος οὗτος φαίνεται  
εὐθάνατος, ἔχοντα πολλὰς χολλάδας κείσθαι παχύν, κ.τ.λ.



Meineke takes ἐπιθυμῶν as a *nom. pendens* and supplies θάνατον with ἴδιον. Kock conjectures νῆ Δὲ ἐνθυμουμένω μοι. But is it not pretty clear that ἴδιον ἐπιθυμῶ μόνος κ.τ.λ. is what the poet wrote? 'I have a private desire of my own.' Cf. *Meno* 77 C τί ἐπιθυμεῖν λέγεις; 'what sort of desire do you mean?' etc.

70 πάντ' ἐστὶ τῷ καλῷ λόγῳ  
 ἱερὸν ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λαλήσων θεός.

πανταχῇ and πάντῃ are conjectured, but what is τῷ καλῷ λόγῳ? and what is the general meaning? I take it to be that a man's (everyman's?) soul is a ἱερὸν τῶν καλῶν λόγων, in which reason gives the divine response: ψυχὴ οἰκητήριον δαίμονος, says Democritus. τῶν καλῶν λόγων is obvious; the other words must be conjectural. ψυχὴ δὲ παντός is open to the objection that probably an article would be needed with ψυχῇ.

In the *C.R.* xii. 433 I commented on the considerable fragment of the Γεωργός edited after Nicole by Grenfell and Hunt: I may add now a few small things.

Line 6 ἀπόδημον (Blass) is a doubtful word. 31 κατὰ τύχην προσέρχεται, or anything like it, is very abrupt. Perhaps οὗτος κ. τ. προσέρχεται . . . ὁ θεράπων.

35 ἀγρὸν γεωργεῖν εὐσεβέστερον οὐδένα  
 οἶμαι· φέρει γὰρ μυρρ[ίνην] . . . καλόν,  
 ἄνθη τοσαῦτα· τᾶλλα δ' ἄν τις καταβάλῃ,  
 ἀπέδωκεν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὐ [πλέον]  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ μέτρον.

Stobaeus *Flor.* 67. 6 quoting from the Γεωργός gives us (Kock 96)

φέρει γὰρ ὅσα θεοῖς ἄνθη καλά,  
 κιττόν, δάφνην· κριθὰς δ' ἐὰν σπείρω, πάνυ  
 δίκαιος ὃν ἀπέδωχ' ὅσας ἂν καταβάλω.

Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 38 and see Breitenbach *ad loc.*

It is impossible to say what is the relation of the two versions to one another. There are two or three difficulties involved in both, with which it is not easy to deal. Myrtle, ivy, and laurel (it is natural to insert κιττόν in 36) are, as Herwerden says, not flowers. Also the context requires that the bit of land be said not merely to bear these plants but to bear them bountifully: in other words καλόν or καλά should be καλῶς, as in Xenophon. We might expect in the Stobaeus version φέρει γὰρ ὅσα θεοῖς ἀνθεῖ καλῶς, κιττόν, δάφνην (καλῶς going with φέρει). In the papyrus version a line has been thought lost, and the missing words might account for ἄνθη. As the question stands at present, we can only recognise the difficulties.

39 ὁμῶς must be considered very dubious. Perhaps only εἰσένεγκε μοι.

69 Perhaps διαλεγόμενον δέ . . . τάδε τά τε τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐμβαλόντος.

71 παθημ' should not be introduced. παθεῖν τι is the regular phrase, e.g. Dem. 18. 291 : 19. 195 : Aristot. *Fragm.* 15(45) : Xen. *Symp.* 1. 9.

73 μόνος τ' ὦν καὶ γέρων νοῦν ἔσχε κ.τ.λ. 'being old and solitary, he had a very sensible idea : he has promised to marry her.'

*Fragment* 128. 7 Probably αὕτη for αὐτή.

203 ἐλεεῖν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἔμαθεν εὐτυχῶν μόνος.

ἀτυχῶν Herwerden, who also reads ἐλεινούς for ἐκεῖνος. The text as it stands makes sense, but not very satisfactory sense (*vereor ne versus corruptus sit*, Meineke), and I would suggest ἔμαθε δυστυχῶν μόνον. εὐ- and δυσ- are sometimes confused.

*ibid.* μὲν ἔστιν ἀρετὴ τὸν ἄτοπον φεύγειν αἰεί.

Kock would read τᾷδικον, which is not near enough. Perhaps τᾷπονον. In Dio Chrys. 6. 16 ἀπονώτατον has been read for ἀτοπώτατον since Casaubon ; in Ar. *Met.* 1. 2. 982 b 13 MSS. vary between ἀπόρων and ἀτόπων,

285 φιλόμουσον εἰν' αὐτὸν πάνυ,  
ἀκούσματ' εἰς τρυφήν τε παιδεύεσθ' αἰεί.

τάκούσματα seems probable and should perhaps be joined to the preceding words.

291 ταυτόματόν ἐστιν ὡς ἔοικέ που θεός  
σφάζει τε πολλὰ τῶν ἀοράτων πραγμάτων.

ἀδράτων Usener, of which few will approve. Why not ἀορίστων in the sense of things that are or *seem* uncertain ?

301 If δ' in line 5 is right, the lines preceding should be a statement, not a question. If they are made a question, δ' should perhaps be γ'.

302 οἷοι λαλοῦμεν ὄντες οἱ τρισάθλιοι  
ἅπαντες οἱ φυσῶντες ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μέγα.

In the absence of any satisfactory explanation or emendation I may suggest that a stop should be put after ὄντες (cf. on 23 above). 'What shadows we are,' as Burke says, 'we men who are talking here.' Then οἱ should be ὦ (cf. 404. 1) or possibly ἦ.

325. 7 γυνὴ πολυτελὴς ἐστ' ὁχληρὸν οὐδ' ἑᾶ  
ζῆν τὸν λαβόνθ' ὡς βούλετ'. ἀλλ' ἔνεστί τι  
ἀγαθὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, παῖδες· ἐλθόντ' εἰς νόσον  
τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἐθεράπευσεν ἐπιμελῶς, κ.τ.λ.

It does not seem possible to concur in the view that παῖδες are the good that comes of a wife. In that case the speaker states this in one word and after implying that there is only this one good immediately goes on to dwell in three



lines upon a second, the attentions namely that in various ways the woman pays to her husband; and this is not even introduced with an *and* or a *besides*. Evidently then this is the ἀγαθόν τι, and παῖδες would seem to be a vocative, although it is true that we have several second persons singular further on. Cf. the παῖδες who are addressed in Nicolaus 1. 41, and the plural in Menander 482. 1 παύσασθε νοῦν λέγοντες. ἔνεστι may be right, ἐν meaning *in the matter*, but it seems odd and we may think of ἀλλ' οὖν ἔστι τι. In line 3 should λυπήσαντα be λυπήσονται?

360 χρηστοὺς νομιζομένους ἐφόδιον ἀσφαλές  
εἰς πάντα καιρὸν καὶ τύχης πᾶσαν ῥοπήν.

Although Grotius suggested χρηστοῖς νομιζομένοις long ago, Bentley's objection seems to have prevailed with the editors, that the participle would be wrong and the infinitive required. He says the ἐφόδιον would otherwise have to be something distinct from χρηστοὺς νομιζεσθαι. He would hardly have argued thus, if he had called to mind such constructions as πρέπει, συμφέρει, etc. with a participial dative, e.g. Dem. 22. 37 ὅσῳ συμφέρει μᾶλλον ἡμῖν καταγνοῦσιν (*i.e.* καταγινῶναι), Xen. Oec. 4. 1 ἔμοι πρόποι ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιμελομένῳ (*i.e.* ἐπιμελεῖσθαι), and Hell. 4. 7. 2 εἰ ὁσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ (*i.e.* μὴ δέχεσθαι) τὰς σπονδάς. Bentley thought a verb governing the accusative had been lost. Kock writes rather wildly (as he sometimes does) χρηστὸς νόμιμός τε νοῦς. But no doubt Grotius was right. The text of Stobaeus has τύχης ῥοπήν πᾶσαν, and ῥοπήν πᾶσαν τύχης would be at least as good as τύχης πᾶσαν ῥοπήν.

473 οὐ πάνν τι γηράσκουσιν αἱ τέχναι καλῶς,  
ἂν μὴ λάβωσι προστάτην φιλάργυρον.

γὰρ πράττουσι Herwerden, γὰρ θάλλουσιν Blaydes. The sense required seems to me, not that the arts do not flourish, unless their representative (for that is what προστάτης means) is gain-loving, but that, unless this is so, they do not afford him much of a livelihood. I would therefore read, what is also nearer to the text, οὐ πάνν τι γὰρ βόσκουσιν αἱ τέχναι καλῶς. They do not maintain him well, unless he practises them in a mercenary manner.

481. 8 πανήγυριν νόμισον τιν' εἶναι τὸν χρόνον  
ὃν φημι τοῦτον ἢ ἐπιδημίαν, ἐν ᾧ  
ὄχλος, ἀγορά, κλέπται, κυβεῖται, διατριβαί.  
ἂν πρῶτος ἀπίης καταλύσεις, βελτίονα  
ἐφόδι' ἔχων ἀπῆλθες, ἐχθρὸς οὐδενί.  
ὁ προσδιατρίβων δὲ σκοπιάσας ἀπώλεσε  
κακῶς τε γηρῶν ἐνδεής του γίγνεται.

Three or four things here are or seem wrong. First ἐν ᾧ in line 9 should be ἐν ᾧ: the relative clearly refers to πανήγυρις and ἐπιδημία (ἀποδημία in the parallel passage of Alexis, but ἐπιδημία is better as indicating the place), not to



the time. *ὃν φημι* may or may not be right. I incline to think it is. *ἂν πρῶτος ἀπίης* (or *πρῶτος ἀπέλθης*) *καταλύσεις* means nothing. Meineke *ἂν πρῶτ' ἀπίης ἐς* (*sic*) *καταλύσεις*, but there is no point in the mention of a *κατάλυσις* or *ἰνῃ*, and *πρῶτ'* is even more wrong than *πρῶτος*. *πρῶτος* (Preller) may seem tempting till we remember that it means *early in the day or year*, not *before other people*. The comparatives following point to a comparative here, and we should probably write *πρότερος*, which often gets confused with *πρῶτος*. The best I can make of *καταλύσεις* is to suggest *κατανύσας* in the sense either of *hurrying* (*ἀνύσας*) or of *having dispatched your visit*, but there seems no exact authority for either use. Porson was probably right in changing *σκοπιάσας* (or *κοπιάσας*) *ἀπόλεσε* to *ἐκοπίασεν* (the *a* being long) *ἀπολέσας*, and we must make *ἀπολέσας* refer to *ἐφόδια*.

482 παύσασθε νοῦν λέγοντες· οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον  
ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς τύχης,  
εἴτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο πνεῦμα θεῖον εἴτε νοῦς,  
τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κυβερνῶν ἅπαντα καὶ στρέφον.

ὁ τῆς τύχης *i.e.* νοῦς cannot very well be right. The expression is almost or quite absurd and not to be defended by line 3, for it is one thing to say that chance really is νοῦς and quite another to talk of the νοῦς τῆς τύχης. Moreover εἴτε . . . εἴτε is inconsistent with assuming the νοῦς. Should we not then read ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς τύχης? Cf. Dem. 4. 45 τὸ τῆς τύχης συναγωνίζεται and *ib.* 12: Eur. *I.A.* 1404 τὸ τῆς τύχης . . . νοσεῖ. πλέον in 1 is doubted, but I am not sure of its being wrong.

532. 6 τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτῆς τῆς γαμουμένης μεθ' ἧς  
βιώσεται μήτ' ἐξετάσαι μήτ' ἰδεῖν.

εἰσιδεῖν Meineke. I should prefer εἰδέναι, unless indeed we should read βιώσεται <τις>.

A few lines below (10) I suggest τὴν . . . καθεδουμένην for the genitive.

536. 6 ἔχει should, I think, be ἔχεις, matching ἐπιλάβοιο (Porson for ἐπιλάβοι) in line 9.

537 ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγει  
ἀνέμους, ὕδωρ, γῆν κ.τ.λ.

Dobree was certainly right in demurring to τοὺς θεοὺς. Epicharmus did not say that the gods were winds but that the winds were gods. Dobree left out τοὺς and put in a γάρ after μὲν. Another expedient would be to read τῶν θεῶν, but perhaps this is less likely.

538 Read ἄν for ὅταν in 1 and ὅταν ὁδοιπορῆς for ὡς ὁδοιπορεῖς in 2. ὡς *w/ien* can only be used with a past tense. One might also think of ὧν ὁδοιπόρος, but it would be unusual Greek.

## FURTHER NOTES ON THE GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS 175

In line 7 men were proud of their birth or wealth or fame, *κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶνδ' ἐπήρκεσεν χρόνος*.

Possibly *χρόνῳ* or *ἐν χρόνῳ finally*. (F. W. Schmidt reads *χρόνῳ* (Kock) but joins it with the next line.)

541. 8 Wyttenbach's *εἰς δ' δεῖ*, quoted by Headlam, makes excellent sense, if we may understand it of *time at which*, but not otherwise.

542. 3 Join *ἴσως* with *συνηγωνίζετο*.

544 παράδειγμα τοὺς Σύρους λαβέ.  
*ὅταν φάγωσ' ἰχθὺν ἐκεῖνοι, διὰ τινα*  
*αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν τοὺς πόδας καὶ γαστέρα*  
*οἰδοῦσιν, ἔλαβον σακίον, εἴτ' εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν*  
*ἐκάθισαν αὐτούς*

Kock is right in reading *οἰδῶσιν*, but surely not in *ἐκεῖ καί* for *ἐκεῖνοι*. I would rather suggest *διὰ τε τὴν* for *διὰ τινα* (*τὴν* and *τινά* getting confused sometimes) or insert *τ'* before *ἀκρασίαν*. Grotius *εἴτα σακίον ἔλαβον εἰς θ' ὁδὸν ἐκάθισαν αὐτούς*.

549. 5 *παρηγόρει δὲ τὰ κακὰ δι' ἐτέρων κακῶν*.

There is not much sense in this admonition. Read *καλῶν* and it becomes very different. *τὰ καλά* (552. 2) and *καλά* without an article often stand as a substantive. For the correction cf. on 'Αδέσποτα 412 below.

557. 4 *τὰ δ' ἴδια προστιθέασι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις*.

The second syllable of *ἀλλοτρίοις* cannot be long. Either *τοῖς ἀ.* is an adscript, corresponding to *τὰ τῶν πέλας* in 2, or it belongs to the next line and something, *e.g.* *ἀποβεβληκότες*, has been lost before it.

573 *ὀργῇ παραλογισμός ποτ' οὐδεὶς φύεται*.

One would think the poet must have written

*ὀργῇ λογισμὸς οὐδέποτε παραφύεται*.

Cf. 407. 3 *ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἀγαθοῦ παραπέφυκε καὶ κακόν*.

580 Perhaps *εἰ γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης*  
*ἀπολώλεκ' (or ἀπώλεσ') αὐτὸς πάντα*.

666 *ἡ πολλὰ φανερώς ἂ δεῖ μετ' ὀνειδους λαβεῖν*.

Grotius *ἀλλά* for *ἂ δεῖ*, and see Kock for other suggestions. Surely *ἂ μετ' ὀνειδους δεῖ*.

714 *ὅταν γέρων γέροντί <τις> ? γνώμην διδῶ,*  
*θησαυρὸς ἐπὶ θησαυρὸν ἐμπορίζεται*.

Meineke *ἐκπορίζεται*, but Kock rightly challenges the construction with *ἐπὶ θησαυρόν*. *ἐπιφορτίζεται* suggests itself.



734 Perhaps ἐσπούδαζε <δρῶν>.

1092 οὐτ' ἐκ χερὸς μεθέντα καρτερόν λίθον  
ῥᾶον κατασχεῖν οὐτ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης λόγον.

The comparative ῥᾶον is unmeaning and must be wrong, but it is harder to correct than the ῥᾶον in *Monost.* 470 (see below). Perhaps we should write ῥᾶδιον for καρτερόν, since the hardness of the stone has little to do with it, and then ἔστιν for ῥᾶον. Notice the parallel from Plutarch given by Kock.

1097 ἂν ἀγνοῶν τι παρά τινος θέλης μαθεῖν,  
τὸ τοῦ μαθητοῦ πρόσφορον, ἔχε τὴν σιγὴν.

Possibly τὸ τοῦ μαθητοῦ πρόσφορον, σιγὴν ἔχε. A genitive is found with τὸ πρόσφορον in one or two places.

1098 ὁ μὴ γέλωτος ἄξιος ἂν ᾖ γέλως, κ.τ.λ.

Simpler than any change proposed would be the change of order,

ἂν ᾖ γέλως ὁ μὴ γέλωτος ἄξιος,

(cf. on 666) and this is also better than one line ending with γέλως and the next with κατὰ γέλως.

Γινώμαι Μονόστιχοι.

53 ἀρχὴν νόμιζε τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθαι.

Perhaps φοβεῖσθαι is a gloss on τὸ δεδιέναι. ἀρχὴν seems imperfect and a genitive may have been lost before it.

60 βραδὺς πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐγκρατὴς φέρειν γενοῦ.  
ἐγκρατῶς φέρων?

73 βοηθὸς ἴσθι τοῖς καλῶς εἰργασμένοις.

Probably σ' εἰργασμένοις. In 601 ζήτει ποιεῖν εὖ τοῖς καλῶς εἰργασμένοις read τοὺς καλῶς σ' εἰργασμένους.

114 δίκαιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ χρηστὸς θέλε.

'Corruptum χρηστός. Sententia postulat *felix* aut *dives*,' says Herwerden. May not the sense be or resemble that of the English proverb, 'be just before you are generous'? χρηστός might express either generosity or a weak kindliness not always admirable.

115 δεῖ τοὺς φιλοῦντας πίστιν, οὐ λόγους ἔχειν.

It is hard to make any sense of οὐ λόγους. Should we read εὐλόγως?

178 εὐρεῖν τὸ δίκαιον πανταχῶς οὐ ῥᾶδιον.

This being rather pointless, perhaps we ought to write εἰπεῖν for εὐρεῖν, understanding εἰπεῖν to mean *speak out, dare to utter*. See my notes on Dem. 14. 36 and Isocr. I. 5 in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 11 and xx. 295.



182 ἔστι κὰν κακοῖσιν ἡδονῆς τι μέτρον.

Perhaps μέτρον τι δ' ἔστι (or, if the line is tragic, ἔστιν τι μέτρον) κὰν κακοῖσιν ἡδονῆς.

185 εὐνοῦχος ἄλλο θηρίον τῶν ἐν βίῳ.

This may be the remains of something like κάκιον οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ | εὐνοῦχος ἄλλο κ.τ.λ.

191 ζῆθι προσεχόντως ὥς μακρὰν ἐγγὺς βλέπων.

ὥς <τὰ> μακράν? οἱ ὅσα μακράν (i.e. ἐστι)? If προσεχόντως might have a dative, τοῖς μακράν would give fair sense.

194 ζῆν βουλόμενος μὴ πράττε θανάτου ἄξια.

θανάτου γ' ἄξια Meineke. θανάτου 'πάξια? θ. τάξια? τὰ θ. ἄ.?

209 ἥξει τὸ γῆρας πᾶσαν αἰτίαν φέρον.

πᾶσαν αἰτίαν? I should take it in the sense of 552 ὃ γῆρας ἐχθρὸν σωματίων ἀνθρωπίνων, ἅπαντα συλῶν τὰ καλὰ τῆς εὐμορφίας, κ.τ.λ., and 648, an imperfect sentence (v. Meineke on 32), ἅπαντ' ἀφανίζει γῆρας, ἰσχύϊ σώματος, i.e. in the sense of 'sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.' Democritus calls old age ὁλόκληρος πῆρωσις.

246 θυσία μεγίστη τῷ θεῷ τὸ εὐσεβεῖν.

τό γ' Meineke. Possibly τὸ μὴ ἄσεβεῖν, οἱ τοῖς θεοῖσιν and no τό.

249 θνητὸς πεφυκὼς τοῦπίσω πειρῶ βλέπειν.

τοῦπίσω is of course the future, and why should a man be bidden to try to foresee the future? θνητὸς πεφυκὼς points plainly to the exactly opposite precept and we must conclude that in the previous line (or perhaps in the same, being a tetrameter) μὴ was found, cf. 362. In like manner 327 λέοντι συζῆν ἢ γυναικὶ συμβιοῦν presupposes something missing, e.g. ἐλοῦ, and 613 μὴ μόνος ἐπίστας' ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦναι φίλοις is seemingly imperfect; perhaps also 680 καλὸν τὸ νήφειν ἢ τὸ πολλὰ κραιπαλᾶν.

262 ἱκανὸν τὸ νικᾶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.

ἐστι τῷ γ' ἐλευθέρῳ? Or we might try something like καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν ἐπὶ γε τῶν ἐλευθέρων, as in 299 καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν, κ.τ.λ. But the sense is uncertain.

266 ἴσος ἴσθι κρίνων καὶ φίλους καὶ μὴ φίλους.

The dative case, καὶ φίλοις καὶ μὴ φίλοις, dependent on ἴσος, seems called for. Cf. 570 δίκαιος ἴσθι καὶ φίλοις καὶ ξένοις.

270 ἱκανῶς βιώσεις γηροβοσκῶν τοὺς γονεῖς.

Here, if not in 262, the confusion of ἱκανός and καλός seems plain. Read καλῶς. Βιώσεις may be right.

299 καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν, ὑπερνικᾶν δὲ σφαλερόν.

ὑπερέχειν δ' οὐκ ἀσφαλές? νικᾶν seems accidentally repeated in ὑπερνικᾶν.

331 λαβὲ πρόνοιαν τοῦ προσήκοντος βίου.

Read λαβεῖν rather than with Meineke λαβοῦ.

355 μήποτε λάβῃς γυναῖκα εἰς συμβουλίαν.

Meineke γυναῖκας, but the plural is less likely. Perhaps γυναῖκα μὴ λάβῃς ποτ', or εἰς may be an error for πρὸς.

364 μὴ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος <τὸ σὸν> αἰεὶ πειρῶ βλέπειν?

374 νέμεσιν φυλάττου μηδὲν <ἄγαν> ὑπερφρονῶν?

428 οἷς μὲν δίδωσιν, οἷς δ' ἀφαιρεῖται τύχη.

οἷς δ' (perhaps merely a misprint in Meineke) should certainly be οὗς δ'.

430 ὁ μηδὲν εἰδὼς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνει.

There might be more truth in this if we wrote εἰπὼν for εἰδὼς.

441 ὅρκον δὲ φεύγε καὶ δικαίως καδίκως.

If this means 'in every honest or dishonest way avoid taking an oath,' it seems little better than nonsense. Why should one avoid it so anxiously? Why dishonestly? We might read καὶ δικαίων καδίκων, understanding that an oath adds nothing to the word either of an honest or of a dishonest man, since οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὅρκοι πίστις ἀλλ' ὅρκων ἀνὴρ: or φεύγει καὶ δίκαιος καδίκος

447 πολλοὶ μὲν εὐτυχοῦσιν, οὐ φρονοῦσι δέ.

Either, as sometimes happens, μέν is much out of its place or the writer must have gone on with something like πολλοὶ δὲ φρόνιμοι δυστυχοῦσι τὸν βίον.

448 πράττε τὰ σαυτοῦ, μὴ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φρόνει.

Probably πράττων: perhaps πράττειν and φρονεῖν.

452 πατὴρ οὐχ ὁ γεννήσας ἀλλ' ὁ θρέψας σε.

Herwerden introduces the very poetical word πέλει (πατὴρ σ' ὁ θρέψας, οὐχ ὁ γεννήσας πέλει). This may be avoided by some such turn as ἐστὶν σ' (or σὲ δ' ἦν) ὁ θρέψας, οὐχ ὁ γεννήσας, πατὴρ.

456 πονηρὸς ἐστὶ πᾶς ἀχάριστος ἄνθρωπος.

Many turns are possible: πᾶς τις ἀχάριστός γ' ἀνὴρ, πᾶς ἀχάριστος ὧν | ἄνθρωπος, etc.

465 ῥοπή 'στιν ἡμῶν ὁ βίος, ὥσπερ ὁ ζυγός.

It seems strange to say of either human life or a balance that it actually is a ῥοπή. Perhaps we should read ἐν ῥοπή. Cf. on 249 and 362.

470 ῥᾶον φέρειν δεῖ τὰς παρεστώσας τύχας.

ῥᾶον should perhaps be πρῶως. Cf. 739 φρονούντος ἐστὶ ζημίαν πρῶως φέρειν.

478 and 629 σωτηρίας σημείον ἡμερος τρόπος.

Though this is found twice, there seems little meaning in σωτηρίας. Some word signifying 'prosperity' seems wanted. It might be εὐημερίας, which with ἡμερος would give us a play upon words. εὐετηρίας would be doubtful metre, and εὐπραγίας is hardly near enough.

536 φρόνημα λιπαρὸν οὐδαμῶς [ἀν]αλίσκεται.

Meineke λαμπρόν. Perhaps ἰλαρόν with δ' or γ' before it. In Isocr. *Ep.* 4. 4 I have suggested ἰλαρώτατον for the unmeaning λυγρώτατον.

538 χρυσὸς δ' ἀνοίγει πάντα καίδου πύλας.

Meineke is inclined to accept κἂν Αἴδου πύλας. One would rather expect πλὴν Αἴδου πύλας, as far as the sense goes.

559 ὥς πάντα τιμῆς ἐστὶ πλὴν τρόπου κακοῦ.

Is ἰάσιμ' for τιμῆς too bold a conjecture? For the short ι cf. 326, 577, 622.

612 μηδέποτε πλούτει, θάνατον εὐλαβούμενος.

In wishing for something like ὑβρίζου in place of πλούτει, Herwerden curiously misses the point. It is that a man is wise in not accumulating wealth which he may never enjoy.

647 αὐτὰ σε διδάσκει τοῦ βίου τὰ πράγματα.

Perhaps διδάξει. I have also thought of τὸν βίον, but the genitive may very well stand.

#### APOLLODORUS.

3 τοῖς γὰρ μεριμνῶσιν τε καὶ λυπουμενοῖς  
ἅπαντα νῦξ ἔοικε φαίνεσθαι μακρά.

It does not seem to have struck anyone that ἔοικε, which with φαίνεσθαι is very weak, if not unmeaning, should be εἴωθε.

13. 7 Should ἀποτυχεῖν be ἐπιτυχεῖν? αὐτόν in that case could not be right and might represent πάντων. Notice the repetition of πᾶς (4 times) in the lines immediately following.

#### PHILIPPIDES.

26 οὐκ ἔστιν 'ἐμεθύσθην, πατέρ' λέγοντά <σε>,  
'ἡμαρτον', ὥστε πρὸς ἐμὲ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν.

If this were the merely superfluous ὥστε (Soph. *Phil.* 656: Plat. *Phaedo*, 103 E, etc.), it would almost certainly come before the participial clause and follow close upon ἔστιν. Read ὥς γε πρὸς ἐμέ. So in Plat. *Prot.* 348 C the MSS. vary between ὥστε μοι (unmeaning) and ὥς γ' ἐμοί.



## SOSIPATER.

1. 56 I suppose something to be lost after *τίς δὴ τι*.

## EUPHRON.

11. 15 οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει·  
ὁ νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἐκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη.

I cannot see any meaning in the last line, though it does not seem to have been questioned. What sense is there in saying that their reason is art? Is ὁ νοῦς a mutilation of ὁμόνους, *like-minded*? In D. Hal. *Lysias* 15 (486) οἱ λόγοι is plausibly restored for ὁμολογεῖ.

## POSIDIPPUS.

19 οὕτω πολύπουν ἐστὶν ἡ λύπη κακόν.

Various suggestions have been made for πολύπουν. I have sometimes thought we might strike off πο and read οὕτω τι λυποῦν ἐστὶν ἡ λύπη κακόν. It would be an identical proposition of the type of 'much human nature in man,' etc.

26. 6 σχεδὸν <πασῶν> τι?

## ATHENION.

1. 21 ὥς δ' ἤρεσ' αὐτοῖς ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλας  
προσάγουσιν ἤδη τῶν ἱερῶν γεγραμμένων,  
τὰ πάτρια διατηροῦντες.

Surely πεπραγμένων, 'but not till the sacrifices are over.' In *Lys.* 14. 2 προγεγραμμένων is a mistake for πεπραγμένων. I agree with Meineke that something has been lost between 24 and 25, unless 25, 26 themselves belong elsewhere. Possibly they might follow 43. 26 is too like 16 to come anywhere near it.

## NICOMACHUS.

2 ἐργῶδές ἐστιν ἐν βίῳ βεβιωκότα  
τοὺς τῶν φθονούντων πάντας ὀφθαλμοὺς λαθεῖν.

There would have been less desire to alter ἐν βίῳ, if scholars had remembered, what most of them at any rate must have known quite well, that in latish Greek βίος sometimes means *the world, society*, etc. ἐν βίῳ βεβιωκώς is therefore a man who has lived in the world, as we say, and not in retirement or seclusion.

## 'Αδέσποτα.

108. 3 Read αὐτόν for αὐτός.

115. 6 πάντων <γ'> ἐστί?

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120 ἦττων ἐαυτοῦ πορνιδίῳ τρισαθλίῳ  
ἐαυτὸν οὕτω παραδέδωκε(ν) <γενόμενος> ?

ἦττων ἐαυτοῦ requires an ὦν or γενόμενος, and the latter word just finishes off the line.

123 Perhaps ἐν μέσῳ γῇ κειμένη.

212 The verse which Tiberius quoted to Agrippina should rather be, I think,

εἰ μὴ τυραννεῖς, τέκνον, ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκεῖς ;

I do not know why Kock gives it to comedy.

404 ἰσχυρόν ἐστι πλούσιος ἀγνοούμενον  
ἔχων κληρονόμον.

Read <τὸν> κληρονόμον ἔχων.

412 ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ μόνη  
καὶ διὰ καλοῦ τοῦ σώματος καταφαίνεται.

Is it not obvious that καλοῦ should be κακοῦ ? Cf. on Menander 549. 5 above.

463 οὐ διὰ τραπέζης οὐδ' ἐφ' (ἀφ' ?) ἐστίας φίλους.

1206. 4 τῷ πονουμένῳ ?

1224 ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ θύειν ὅταν  
γυνὴ κατορύττηται τάφῳ, οὐχ ὅταν γαμῇ.

As the last three words are fairly certified by the metre, we should probably read ὅταν | γυναῖκα κατορύττη τις, οὐχ ὅταν γαμῇ.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

## ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF ROMAN ALLIES.

DID the Romans in their dealings with other nations outside Italy know of any international laws, and did such laws ever crystallise from scattered observances into a general system? This is an interesting question, but one not easy to answer.

Undoubtedly the Roman nation invented or acquired what was a most complex system of international morality, the fetial system: yet the *fetiale ius* was a purely Italian institution, and we are immediately faced by the further question—was it by the rules of this system that the Roman regulated his conduct with the nations beyond Italy? Either the *fetiale ius* continued to be used and developed, or, as it would be a natural speculation to suppose, there was in the end struck out from the ceaseless conflict between Romans and foreigners some other standard for the regulation of Romano-Hellenic and Romano-barbarian affairs.

This paper will be an attempt to show that the purely Italian (fetial) system proved quite inadequate and impracticable as soon as it was applied to transmarine politics: that this was due not only to its inherent severity and want of elasticity, but also to the rivalry of other international systems, especially the Hellenic, which were already in possession of the field: further that from the clash of the Roman and Hellenic ideas a common system of international law was developed, of which the *amicitia* was the chief feature, and which bid fair to become a just and adequate *modus vivendi* between East and West: that, however, owing to the political preponderance of the Romans, it was perverted wholly to their own advantage and to the disadvantage of the Greeks and the Eastern world, who gradually sank from the proud position of allies and friends to the miserable state of subjects.

The fetial system has often been minutely described and examined, but, as a general rule, it has been treated as though it were some model or theoretical system, not a working arrangement belonging to practical politics. This is the natural result of the practice of the Romans themselves: for all the Roman writers who speak of it describe it from their imagination and not from their experience: in fact, the importance of the fetial system had vanished long before the age of the classic writers. They seem to have taken a peculiar interest and pride in this elaborate system of their ancestors, and from their descriptions



it has been fairly fully reconstructed by many historians, notably by Osenbrueggen<sup>1</sup> and others who followed him. But it cannot be too often remarked that from the time of the invasion of Pyrrhus the fetial system fell rapidly into decay and ceased altogether to be the guiding-star of the Roman Senate: the *fetiale ius* occasionally comes up for discussion: generally, the matter is one of ceremonial observances, without effect on the foreign policy of the senators:<sup>2</sup> once or twice some uncompromising conservative drags forward a rigid and antique regulation<sup>3</sup> and relying on the ever useful cry of 'tradition,' proves once more that at Rome any old-time regulation will do as a stumbling-block in the way of progressive statesmanship. Moreover, some shreds of ceremonial lingered on until after the founding of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> Under Claudius there was even a revival of the *foedus*.<sup>5</sup>

All this only throws into greater relief the fact that from c. 250 B.C. onwards the fetial system ceased to count in Roman foreign politics. What replaced it? It is obvious that there was absolutely no growth of a new public *ceremonial* of any kind relating to international affairs: the old observances of the *publicum hospitium* (quite separate from the *fetiale ius*) remained, and continued to be applied in the treatment of foreign ambassadors; or such regulations of purely practical convenience were invented as the setting aside of the month February for the reception of embassies. But apart from any outward ceremony, what general principles of dealing with foreign nations were adopted by Rome? What treaties could be made with her and to what grades of alliance would she consent?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to consider the various nations with whom Rome came into contact during and after the decay of the fetial system, and above all to distinguish one kind of relationship with Rome from another, in fact, to *classify the allies of Rome*. By this means I shall attempt to point out a few tendencies, which seem to have governed international intercourse, especially during the period from 250 to 100 B.C., when the number of the Roman allies was increased by the addition of all the important nations, cities, and rulers of the Eastern world.

Until comparatively recently no serious attempt has been made to classify the Roman allies even in principle, far less in detail. The ancient division of *foedera* was into *foedera aequa* and *foedera iniqua*;<sup>6</sup> but this classification proved impracticable and useless to us, partly owing to the fact that these divisions melt into each other, still more on account of our almost total lack of information as to which *foedera* were *aequa*, which *iniqua*. Thus, the *fetiale ius* had early to be discarded as the sole basis for classification. Then the true division of Roman allies into *amici* and *socii* gained ground and was universally adopted, but without much discussion or examination, until Mommsen took up the subject and worked it out as

<sup>1</sup> *De iure belli et pacis Romanorum* 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. xxxvi. 3. (I quote Livy throughout by Weissenborn's annotated text 1885.)

<sup>3</sup> Such was Cato's suggestion that Caesar should be delivered up to the Gauls. Plut. *Caes.* 22. *App.*

Res Gall. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* i. 182, 915, 916, 940, 991, 1001, 1017, 1040, 1048, 1065, 1067, 1080, 1094, 2935: ii. 4984.

<sup>5</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25.



part of his *Staatsrecht*. Since then nothing has been added to the theory of the subject, so that it will be simplest to state Mommsen's results.

Mommsen<sup>1</sup> acquiesces in the division into *socii* and *amici*. The name *socii* he reserves, as is usual, for the Italian *socii*, who furnished military contingents to Rome. On the other hand, the *amici* he apparently subdivides into the two classes of those who were *amici* only, and those who were *socii et amici*.<sup>2</sup> Of these two sub-classes the *amici* had merely friendly relations (*Freundschaftsvertrag*) with Rome and nothing more;<sup>3</sup> the *socii et amici*, on the other hand, were those amici who were bound to assist Rome with military help. We may suppose that on such an occasion as the revision of a treaty, an *amicus* might undertake to give military help: he would then acquire *societas* in addition to his original *amicitia*, i.e. he would become *amicus et socius*. In fact Mommsen regards the *amicitia* as a first stage or an introduction to the closer tie of the *societas*.

It might follow from this that the class *socii et amici* approaches far more closely to the class of pure *socii* than to the class of pure *amici*, but this Mommsen scarcely allows: he mentions in fact—and this can hardly be contested—that in Roman eyes the *socii et amici* were nominally grouped with the *amici* proper,<sup>4</sup> and certainly not with the *socii* proper.

If in another place<sup>5</sup> Mommsen says that the *societas* includes *amicitia*, this is easily understood as meaning that the simple neutrality of the *amicitia*—which was the minimum of international relations—was included in the close defensive and offensive alliance of the *societas*, not that the class *amici* were a subdivision of the class *socii*.

Mommsen's classification of Roman allies practically amounts to a threefold, not to a twofold one. There was (1) the class of *amici* proper, who had no more than friendly relations with Rome; (2) the class of *amici et socii*, namely those who in addition to such friendly relations had bound themselves to send military help; and lastly (3) the class of *socii*, the chief characteristic of whose position was that they were *subjects* bound to send military aid.<sup>6</sup> The difference between the *amici* and the *amici et socii* was that the first pledged themselves to neutrality only, the latter to active aid: the difference between the *amici et socii* and the *socii* was that the first were equals with Rome, the latter subjects to her.

We now pass from the theory of the *amicitia* and *societas*, as given by Mommsen, to practical examples and details.

Little remains to be done, as far as the Italian *socii* are concerned, after his profound and elaborate analysis of every phase of that alliance. But the case is different with the *amicitia*, and with the extra-Italian *socii*. Of these Mommsen himself says:<sup>7</sup> 'Die Ausdehnung des nicht italischen Bundesgenossenkreises in

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen *Röm. Staatsrecht* iii. 1 (1887) pp. 590 ff., cf. pp. 645 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thus (iii. 1, p. 593, n. 2) he speaks of 'die beiden Kategorien der blossen *amici* and der *socii et amici*.'

<sup>3</sup> In *Röm. Forsch.* i. pp. 326 ff. Mommsen identifies this *amicitia* with the *publicum hospitium*

an identification which has been from the first disputed.

<sup>4</sup> In iii. 1, p. 593, n. 2 he mentions 'die formale Gleichbehandlung der beiden Kategorien der blossen *amici* und der *socii et amici*.'

p. 663

<sup>5</sup> p. 665.

p. 649.



gleicher Weise (wie die italische) zu verfolgen ist nicht erforderlich. Ausgegangen ist er von den alten Beziehungen zu den hellenischen Städten ausserhalb der Halbinsel: indess lässt sich der Gegensatz des auf rechtlicher Gleichstellung beruhenden Freundschaftsvertrags und der abhängigen Wehrgenossenschaft hier nicht mit gleicher Bestimmtheit verfolgen wie in Italien.'

Incidentally he mentions as *amici* Astypalaia (iii. 1, p. 595, n. 2 and p. 596, n. 2), Rhodes before 169 B.C. (p. 595, n. 2, p. 596, n. 4, p. 663, n. 1), Tyrreion (p. 595, n. 2), Mytilene (p. 595, n. 2), and Hermodorus of Oropus (p. 652, n. 1): as *socii et amici* Onesimus, son of Pytho the Macedonian (p. 593, n. 2): as *socii* outside Italy, Massilia (pp. 666, 696), Rhodes after 169 (pp. 663, n. 1), Sparta (p. 666), Athens (pp. 666, 696).

The want of a list of extra-Italian *socii* has been seriously felt, and still more of a list of *amici*.<sup>1</sup> Such a list has been compiled (for republican times) by a recent author, Virgil Ferrenbach,<sup>2</sup> who has strictly adhered to the theory and classification of Mommsen, *i.e.* he divides Roman allies into *socii*, *amici*, and *socii et amici*.<sup>3</sup>

It seems to me not only possible, but absolutely necessary, to keep strictly to the *twofold* classification into *socii* and into *amici*. I can find no trace of the real existence of any special third class called *socii et amici*. *Socius et amicus* was, I think, simply the official title applied to the *amici* by the Roman government. A study of the extant inscriptions, which are the only sure guide in matters of terminology, shows that (a) the title *socius et amicus* is never applied to a *socius*, (b) the title *socius et amicus* is often equated with the title *amicus*, and generally in this way: *amicus* (φίλος) occurs in the less formal parts of a decree (preamble, etc.) or in allusions en passant, the words *amicus et socius* (φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος) occur in the formal decree and are almost invariably used where the object of a senatusconsultum is to confer or renew *amicitia*. A good example of the different use of *amicus* and *amicus et socius* is to be found in the decree *re* the Melitaieis and Nartakieis, where φίλια seems almost to be a sort of abbreviation which replaces the full title φίλια καὶ σύμμαχος.<sup>4</sup>

But whatever delicate degrees of difference there may be in the use of the current, popular, and wide *amicus* or the official title *amicus et socius*, it is indisputable that *amicus* and *amicus et socius* are applied to the same persons in one and the same decree<sup>5</sup>: hence we are driven to the conclusion that there is a single class of allies, called indifferently *amici* or *amici et socii*, not one class of *amici* and a second of *amici et socii*.

The position was this: the *socius* was obliged to send year in, year out, a fixed

<sup>1</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl. s.v.* amicus.

<sup>2</sup> Ferrenbach, Virgil, *Die Amici populi Romani republikanischer Zeit*. Strassburg, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> His list of *socii et amici* is not yet published. I had already drawn up my own list of *amici* and of *socii*, before I saw that of Ferrenbach. This list I hope to publish with references and terminology at a later date. In many particulars it does not agree

with that of Ferrenbach.

<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* i. (1898) no. 307. Cf. for another example Dittenberger *Orientis Graec. Inscr.* ii. no. 445.

<sup>5</sup> Besides the exx. quoted above cf. *C.I.G.* xii. 2 35 b. (Mytilene), *C.I.G.* iii. 173 (Astypalaia). Ditt. *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* ii. (1900) 928 ii. b (Magnetes ad Maeandrum), etc.







xliv. 19. 5 and 10. 11; xlv. 19. 5. One would not care to affirm that the word *socius* meant exactly the same as the word *amicus* to Livy; but here is proof positive that it is quite hopeless to use his terminology as any assistance towards a practical classification into *amici* and into *socii*.

It would not be altogether impossible to attribute this confusion to the careless style in which Livy wrote. But other writers do not seem to show any great exactness.<sup>1</sup> This want of exactness can to a large extent be ascribed to two causes, namely, the indifferent attitude to truth in comparison with form obtaining among the ancients, and hence their lower ideal of verbal accuracy, and, secondly, their want of interest in nations outside Italy. But there was another cause. The tendency to assimilate all classes of allies and subjects to one another was an everlastingly disturbing factor. Now the idea of historical evolution, which was well known to political theorists (*e.g.* to Aristotle) seems scarcely to have exercised much influence on practical historians. As a general rule, unless a Roman author mentions some particular and definite change of great importance, it is safest to suppose that he reflects the state of affairs of his own day only. The extant Roman historians all wrote after the Social War, when the status of allies and subjects had entered on a final stage, and they assume that the same condition of affairs has always existed: there is scarcely an attempt to trace the rise of the different classes of allies and subjects. This is not surprising. The tendency towards assimilation had already, as far back as the end of the Second Punic War, worked a revolution in merging all Italians into one type of *socius*. The Social War was a step farther, and assimilated Italy to Rome. But this was not all: as I hope to show below, this policy early made itself felt among extra-Italian nations. The principle was to disregard all distinctions or privilege, and to bring all to the same ill-defined state of subjection to Rome. The continued progress of this levelling process throughout Roman history produced an uncertainty in the relations of Rome with the outside world which goes far to explain and excuse the vague attitude of ancient writers on this subject.

Having considered the question of terminology, the next necessity towards making a classification into *socii* and *amici* is to make clear the relations between the *foedus* and the *amicitia* or *societas*. It is certain that neither were all the nonfoederate allies *amici*, nor all the foederate *socii*. In order to disentangle the relationships of these three things, *foedus*, *amicitia*, *societas*, it will be best to begin by seeing what evidence there is for this classification of Roman allies into *amici* and *socii*.

Since the existence of two chief classes of Roman allies—the *amici* and the *socii*—has nowhere been made the subject of special or lengthy explanation among ancient authorities, passing remarks and casual references become unusually important. Two passages have generally been quoted as proof. The first is

<sup>1</sup> I have examined the language of Tacitus, Suetonius, Velleius Paterculus, Cornelius Nepos, and some of the epitomists. There seems to be a tendency in the writings of Tacitus, Suetonius, Velleius Paterculus, and other writers of the early Empire to keep the words *amicus*, *amicitia* for friendship only.



Appian *Res Gall.* 13: '... εἰς Νορικοὺς Ῥωμαίων ξένους ὄντας ἐποιοῦντο δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους, οἷς ἐδίδουσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλους, ἀνάγκη δ' οὐκ ἐπὶν ὡς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν.' This, however, is far from clear, and 'ξένοι' might equally well, or rather better, be taken as referring to 'hospites'<sup>1</sup>: in any case Appian is a very loose writer, whose use of such terms can hardly be made to bear much superstructure. Still, the passage is really illuminating, because it fixes the difference between two classes of allies by the standard of sending or withholding military help.

The second passage generally quoted is Livy xlv. 25. 9, where, in speaking of the Rhodians, Livy says: 'nam ita per tot annos in *amicitia* fuerant, ut *sociali* foedere se cum Romanis non illigarent: tunc utique petenda *societas* uidebatur.' Here there is a clear distinction drawn between *societas* and *amicitia*, which in this case coincides with the presence and absence of a *foedus*.

In the parallel passage of Polybius,<sup>2</sup> from which this is taken, the distinction is not made. It is evident that Livy has combined with it the sense of another passage, viz. Pol. xxxi. 1. 4, where *φιλία* is expressly contrasted with *συμμαχία*: 'ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἔδωκεν ἀποκρισιν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν *φιλίαν* (i.e. the friendship existing between Rome and the Rhodians until now, 165 B.C.) *παρεσιώπησε*, *περὶ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας* οὐκ ἔφη καθήκειν αὐτῇ τοῦτο *συγχωρεῖν* Ῥοδίοις κατὰ τὸ παρόν.'

But clearer than either Appian *Res Gall.* 13 or L. xlv. 25. 9 is L. xxix. 11. 2: 'nullas dum in Asia *socias* ciuitates habebat populus Romanus, tamen memores Aesculapium quoque ex Graecia quondam haud dum ullo foedere *sociata*, ualetudinis populi causa, arcessitum, tunc iam cum Attalo rege propter commune aduersus Philippum bellum coeptam *amicitiam* esse...'

These passages leave no doubt that the distinction between *amici* and *socii* was well understood by ancient writers.<sup>3</sup>

The further question of the relation of the *foedus* to the *amicitia* and to the *societas* is not so easily answered. It may be taken for granted without discussion that all *socii* were *foederati*. But what of the *amici*? From L. xlv. 25. 9 and xxix. 11. 1, quoted above, it is obvious that an *amicus* could be nonfoederate. Yet there are numerous instances (e.g. in the case of the Aetoli,<sup>4</sup> Achaei,<sup>5</sup> Athens,<sup>6</sup> Messene,<sup>7</sup> Philip,<sup>8</sup> etc., where the existence of a *foedus* between the *amicus* and Romans is expressly mentioned. These peoples cannot be put in the same class as the Italians or *socii* proper. On the other hand, there is absolutely no distinction to be drawn between their position and that of the nonfoederate *amici*, such as Rhodes.

<sup>1</sup> There is not enough evidence to show whether the Noricans were *hospites* or *amici* at this date.

<sup>2</sup> Pol. (ed. Hultsch, 1868) xxx. 5. 6 οὕτω γὰρ ἦν πραγματικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Ῥοδίων, ὡς σχεδὸν ἦν τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατὸν κεκοινηκώς ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων, οὐκ ἐπεποιήτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν.

<sup>3</sup> Other less important passages are quoted by

Voigt: *Das ius naturale etc.* vol. ii. p. 57, and there are a few others, which he does not mention.

<sup>4</sup> L. xxvi. 24. 14, xxix. 12. 4, xxxiii. 34. 7, xxxiv. 23. 7.

<sup>5</sup> L. xxxix. 37. 10, xli. 23. 5. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Tac. *Ann.* ii. 53. 3.

<sup>7</sup> L. xxxiv. 32. 16.

<sup>8</sup> L. xxxiii. 35. 5, xlii. 25. 4, 62. 5, xlv. 16. 5.



Hence the negative result seems to emerge, that, though all *socii* are *foederati*, only some *amici* are *foederati*, while others are nonfoederate.<sup>1</sup>

But there are one or two passages in Livy which give light.

At the end of the Second Macedonian War a *foedus* was concluded between Rome and Philip, of which Polybius (xviii. 44) and Livy (xxxiii. 30) give the terms. A little while after the conclusion of the *foedus*, a Roman ambassador arrives at Philip's court. His advice to Philip is quoted thus by Livy (xxxiii. 35. 5): 'Philippo suavit, quoniam *pacem* impetrasset, ad *societatem amicitiamque* petendam mitteret Romam legatos, ne, si quid Antiochus moueret, exspectasse et temporum opportunitates captasse ad rebellandum uideri posset.' Here *pax* obviously refers to the *foedus*, and *societas amicitiae* is the proper term for an *amicitia*. Now the *foedus* between Philip and Rome was already at this time existing: for the negotiations were finally concluded in ch. 30, and the Isthmian announcement was already over, when the Roman legatus started for Macedonia (ch. 34. 1). But the *amicitia*, if Philip still had to apply for it, was evidently not yet existing. Hence the only and obvious inference to be drawn is that the *foedus* did not create an *amicitia*.

This inference is strongly confirmed by another passage in Livy (xxxvi. 3. 8), where, at the outbreak of the war with Antiochus and the Aetoli, the Senate applies to the Fetial College for information on some points of international etiquette. Among their difficulties was this: was the *amicitia* to be renounced before war was declared? 'num prius societas et amicitia eis renuntianda esset quam bellum indicendum?' Now the declaration of war is nothing more nor less than a declaration that the *foedus* has been broken by the other side. Hence there is again a distinct separation of *amicitia* and *foedus*: just as in the last instance the two were established separately, so here the two are broken off in quite different ways.<sup>2</sup> For according to the answer of the fetials, the mere refusal of the Aetoli to listen to the Roman ambassadors was sufficient to 'renounce' the friendship: 'amicitiam renuntiatam uideri, cum legatis totiens repetentibus res nec reddi nec satisfieri aequum censuissent;' but the declaration of war was only the result of an open and direct act of hostility, namely, the seizure of Demetrias: 'Aetolos ultro sibi bellum indixisse, cum Demetriadem, sociorum urbem, per uim occupassent etc.'

An exactly parallel case occurs before the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War. In the report of the Roman ambassadors sent to Perseus, they first complain of their bad reception, and then say that they have renounced the Roman friendship with Perseus: 'se amicitiam et societatem renuntiasse' (L. xlii. 25. 1) 172 B.C. But it is not till the beginning of the next year that a *rogatio ad populum* is carried in the *comitia centuriata* to declare war against him: 'patres . . centuriatis

<sup>1</sup> Those *amici* who were nonfoederate had generally been admitted to friendship by a *senatusconsultum*.

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, the Romans considered the *foedus* to have been broken by the Aetolians in

205 B.C. (see *infra*): hence the reply of the fetials is that there is now no necessity for a formal declaration of war by the Romans.



comitiis primo quoque die ferre ad populum consules (*i.e.* the new consuls for 171 B.C. cf. § 8) iusserunt, ut, quod Perseus . . . aduersus *foedus* . . . sociis populi Romani arma intulisset etc. . . ut, nisi de iis rebus satisfacisset, bellum cum eo iniretur. haec rogatio ad populum lata est.' (L. xlii. 30. 10) Here the renouncing of the *amicitia*, and the declaration of war, *i.e.* the declaration that the *foedus* is broken, are separated not only theoretically, but in point of actual time and fact.

Yet another passage illustrates the fact that the 'renunciation' of friendship is distinct from the declaration of war. In 155 B.C. the ambassadors sent to Prusias, angry at his refusal to obey the Senate's commands, then and there renounced the friendship, 'τὴν τε φιλίαν ἀπέπαινον καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν' (Pol. xxxiii. 12. 5.). Nevertheless, not even on the return of the ambassadors to Rome was war declared, nor did hostilities break out. On the other hand, Prusias, as soon as he ceased to be an *amicus sociusque* of Rome, was liable to attack from Attalus, who would not have dared to molest him while still under the protection of the Roman friendship. In fact, Rome did actually encourage Attalus and others to attack Prusias (Pol. *ibid.* § 9, cf. ch. 13); but at no time was Rome herself at war with Prusias.

A case the reverse of that of Perseus and Philip, but equally well showing the independence between *amicitia* and *foedus*, is that of the Aetoli, referred to above. Both their *foedus* and *amicitia*, which had begun together in 211 B.C., were broken off in 205 B.C. In 200 B.C. the *amicitia* is restored: (L. xxxi. 31. 20, 'restituendi': App. *Mac.* 3: cf. L. xxxiii. 35. 9, xxxv. 32. 6, xxxvi. 3. 8.). But the *foedus* is by no means restored at the same time (L. xxxvi. 27. 6.): this is further shown by the fact that they do not get Acarnania (L. xxxvi. 11. 12, xlv. 31. 9. 12), nor Pharsalus (xxxiv. 23. 7); xxxi. 10. 9), nor Echinus (xxxiv. 23. 7), nor Thebae Phthiae (xxxix. 28. 9), to all of which places they were, according to Livy, entitled by their *foedus* (though as to this see Pol. xviii. 38. 4). Thus the restoration of the *amicitia* in 200 B.C. did not entail restoration of the *foedus*.

In the above passages the *amicitia* is often spoken of as 'renuntiata.' This method of renouncing a friendship was largely practised by the Romans in private life.<sup>1</sup> Its adoption by them in the case of public friendships signifies the possibility of terminating such friendships at will. But a *foedus* could not be terminated at will: it was in its very nature everlasting, and woe betide either side, who attempted to alter a tittle of it: they would incur the special enmity of the gods, who, according to the really sincere belief of the Romans, would infallibly bring defeat on the *foedifragi* or breakers of the *foedus*. A declaration of war then does not amount to the wilful dissolution of the *foedus*: it is merely an announcement that the other side has infringed some condition of the *foedus*, and an appeal to the arbitrament of the gods, to give victory to the side which has kept the *foedus* unimpaired. It is obvious that the *foedus* differs vitally from the *amicitia* in this respect, if, as shown above, the latter could be renounced at will and without sin. Thus in the war with Perseus, the Romans claimed to have kept the *foedus*, but they had renounced the friendship.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *A.* ii. 70 and vi. 29. 3, Suet. *Gai.* 3, Cic. *Verr.* ii. 2. 36 § 89.



The *amicitia*, then, was not created by the *foedus*: it was not an alliance: it was rather a *state of diplomatic relations*, which can coexist with an alliance, or exist without it: thus we have diplomatic relations with all European nations, but not alliances with all.

If then the *amicitia* did not depend on the *foedus*, why were some of the *amici foederati*, and what was the nature of their *foedera*? Fortunately we have the terms of a certain number of *foedera* which were concluded between Rome and her *amici*.

These *foedera* sometimes begin with a clause, such as '*amicitia esto*.'<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they contain clauses ensuring the neutrality of an *amicus*.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes all mention of *amicitia* or neutrality is omitted.<sup>3</sup> In each case, however, their real object is to effect a settlement after a war: their provisions are largely concerned with the ransom of prisoners, the payment of war indemnities, etc., etc.<sup>4</sup> In spite of their permanent form, they are really more in the nature of temporary agreements, for, with the fulfilment of these conditions, most of their clauses lapse. Therefore, when there are no special points to be settled, the *foedus* is often discarded, and the general principles upon which an *amicitia* rests are capable of being expressed in a *plebiscitum* or *senatusconsultum*: cf. the case of the Termesenses, Jews, Stratonicea, Chios, etc. etc.

Thus an examination of the provisions in the *foedera* of the *amici* signally confirms the inference that the object of such a *foedus* was not to establish the validity of an *amicitia*, but merely to confirm certain special points, which for some reason Rome or the other nation wished to be beyond controversy.

To sum up my conclusions:

It has been found (1) that all *socii* were foederate, (2) that *amici* were either (a) nonfoederate or (b) foederate. If the latter, however, their *foedus* was something extra, independent of, and separate from their *amicitia*. It did not create an *amicitia*, though it could coexist with it.

I now come to the principal point of this paper, namely the real distinction between a *socius* and an *amicus*. This is to be found in their *military status*, which I believe to be the test, both theoretical and practical, for dividing the *amicus* from the *socius*.

The difference between the two classes is, that a *socius* was bound to send, year in, year out, a fixed amount of military help, which was under the absolute command of Rome: whereas an *amicus* was only bound to neutrality: if he sent help, he sent it of his own free will alone, determined the amount himself and the time during which it should be available, and it was not subject to Roman command, except by special and temporary arrangement.

The military status of the *socii*<sup>5</sup> was defined by their *foedera*, which contained

<sup>1</sup> Pol. xxi. 45. 1 = L. xxxviii. 38. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pol. xxi. 45. 2 = L. xxxviii. 38. 2. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Pol. xviii. 39 and 44 = L. xxxiii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Pol. xviii. 39 and 44 = L. xxxiii. 30. 2-10. Pol. xxi. 45. 6-20 = L. xxxviii. 38. 6. 15. App. Mithr. 55.

<sup>5</sup> This military status of the *socii* is obvious, and has been accepted by all. I have, therefore, not thought it necessary to give proofs. Perhaps all the early *foedera* did not contain this clause, but by the time the *amicitia* emerged (c. 250 B.C.) the principle was well



a clause stipulating for a fixed amount of military help every year. This was the only stable condition in the *foedera* granted to *socii*: beyond this one essential clause, the terms of their *foedera* might vary to any extent.

But in examining the *foedera* of the *amici*, the remarkable fact becomes apparent that, what had been the central and only invariable clause in the *foedera* of the *socii*, is conspicuous by its absence. Thus the foederate *amici* were under no obligation to send assistance.<sup>1</sup>

Nor could there be any such obligation on the part of the nonfoederate *amici*.

Hence the very contents of these *foedera* establish the absolute identity in military status between the foederate and nonfoederate *amici*, while at the same time pointing to an incontrovertible difference in this respect between this united class of *amici* and the *socii*.

In fact, an *amicus*, whether foederate or nonfoederate, was absolutely free to follow one of three courses:

- (1) He could formally take up a position of neutrality.
- (2) He could informally do the same, *i.e.* simply abstain from sending help, without making any open declaration of neutrality.
- (3) He could send help to Rome.

Rome herself was in an exactly similar position. She was bound to defend a *socius*, but when an *amicus* claimed her help, she might either definitely refuse the application, or take no notice, or undertake to send troops.

(1) *The right of making a formal declaration of neutrality.* It is possible to trace the gradual decline of this right among the *amici* of Rome.

The principle of neutrality had been recognised from the earliest times in Greece. To Rome, however, the idea was foreign. Her attitude in the East was not doubtful. She acquiesced in the neutrality of Ptolemy during the Second Punic War, because it was the very utmost that she could expect (App. *Res Sic.* 1). But on the very next opportunity she entered a protest against it. As yet uninfluential in the East, she nevertheless ventured to insert a clause in the Aetolian treaty of 211 B.C. which should prevent her allies from taking up such a neutral position (L. xxvi. 24. 12): nothing gave her greater offence than the violation of this clause, a violation which she considered put an end to the whole relations between herself and the Aetoli. The Aetoli themselves, on the other hand, were evidently not greatly conscience-stricken. Contrast the Aetolian attitude in L. xxxiii. 34. 7 'de Pharsalo etc. postulantes, ut ex foedere sibi restituerentur' and in xxxvi. 27. 5 'parantibus iis antiqua iura foederum ordiri,' with the Roman attitude in xxix. 12. 4 'eo se uerterant Romani ab Aetolorum auxilio,

established that a *socius* had to supply troops. There may have been a very few exceptions: perhaps Tauromenium, Cic. *Verr.* v. 19. 50.

<sup>1</sup> There is no exception in L. xxxviii 13. 8 or 37.7. The reference here is to corn, which had to be brought by Antiochus as a price of the *indutiae*, as

was usual. The use of *foedus* for *indutiae* is negligence on Livy's part, and a quite inaccurate rendering of Pol. xxi. 43 *πρὸς τῶν συνθηκῶν (foedus) κατὰ τὰς πρὸς Λεύκιον ὁμολογίας (indutiae)*. The *foedus* was on the point of being completed, hence the looseness of Livy's language.



irati quod sine auctoritate sua aduersus foedus cum rege pacem fecissent,' and in xxxiii. 13. 11 'uos,' inquit, 'ipsi,' Quinctius, 'societatis ipsius leges rupistis, quo tempore relictis nobis cum Philippo pacem fecistis,' again in xxxvi. 27. 6 'absistere iis Flaccus iussit, quae ipsi uiolassent ac rupissent.'

During the war with Antiochus the question comes up again. The most important case is that of the Achaei. They had been *amici* of Rome since 198 B.C. (L. xxxii. 19. 1-23. 3). Now (192 B.C.) the Aetoli and Antiochus send ambassadors to them, suggesting that they should be neutral and that this attitude need not interfere with their friendship with Rome (L. xxxv. 48. 9. 10). The advice of Flaminius, who was present, well illustrates the Roman attitude towards neutrality: he does not venture to deny that the Achaeans have a right to remain neutral: he merely says, 'nam, quod optimum esse dicunt, non interponi uos bello, nihil immo tam alienum rebus uestris est: quippe sine gratia, sine dignitate praemium uictoris eritis' (L. xxxv. 49. 13), which is a scarcely veiled threat. The subsequent decree of the Achaeans, 'ut omnes eosdem genti Achaeorum hostes<sup>1</sup> et amicos, quos populus Romanus censuisset, iudicarent, bellumque et Antiocho et Aetolis nuntiari iuberent' (L. xxxv. 50. 2), is a significant step in the decay of this right of neutrality of the *amici*. By it of their own free will they approximated to the less free position of the *socii*.<sup>2</sup>

In the same year the Aetoli suggest neutrality to Chalcis—'ut salua Romanorum amicitia regem (Antiochum) quoque adsumerent socium atque amicum' (L. xxxv. 46. 5). The answer of the Chalcidians shows that they dare not take up a neutral position: 'nam ipsis certum esse non modo non accipere moenibus, sed ne societatem quidem ullam pacisci nisi ex auctoritate Romanorum' (§ 13). The same answer is given by Thyreion (L. xxxvi. 12. 8).

The conduct of the Boeotians shows that the Romans were to some extent justified in regarding neutrality with disfavour, for it could too easily become a mere pretext for treasonable negotiations (L. xxxvi. 6. 4). Antiochus begs: 'amicitiam secum institui, non bellum indici Romanis. neminem quid ageretur fallebat: decretum tamen sub leni uerborum praetextu pro rege aduersus Romanos factum est' (191 B.C.). But even here we do not know whether some of the Boeotian treachery is not due to the Roman dislike of neutrality.

The opinion of neutrality which was entertained by the Romans at this period explains the following (L. xxxiii 35. 3): 'Gnaeus Cornelius . . . percunctatus, si consilium non utile solum sed etiam salutare admittere auribus posset, cum rex gratias quoque se acturum diceret, si quid, quod in rem suam esset, expromeret, magno opere ei suasit, quoniam pacem impetrasset, ad societatem amicitiamque petendam mitteret Roman legatos, ne, si quid Antiochus moueret, expectasse et temporum opportunitates captasse ad rebellandum uideri posset.' Philip, not yet

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of cod. Moguntinus alone. All other codd. have 'omnes gentes fidos et amicos.'

<sup>2</sup> Though, of course, they could always withdraw their help by simply revoking their decree. Hence

they must still be reckoned as *amici*, while e.g. the Aetoli must be reckoned as *socii* from 188 B.C.: for in their case this clause occurs in their *foedus* or contract, from which they could never be freed.



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In 171 B.C., with the increase of the Roman power, it needs a very good reason indeed to explain the neutrality of Prusias during the Third Macedonian War: 'Prusias statuerat abstinere armis et quietus euentum exspectasse: nam neque Romanos posse aequom censere aduersus fratrem uxoris se arma ferre et apud Persea uictorem ueniam per sororem impetrabilem fore' (L. xlii. 29. 3). In the end, however, even he thought it more politic to send help (L. xli. 10. 12, 24. 3). In fact, the Romans now refuse to recognise the right of their *amici* to remain neutral, a sign that the day of the *amicitia* was over. Neither Rhodes nor Eumenes, the two greatest powers in the East, was able to justify in the eyes of the Romans an attitude of neutrality during this war. The Rhodians at the beginning of the war had sent the usual promise of help, which, however, had been refused (L. xlv. 23. 5. 6). Their subsequent neutrality is vigorously defended by them (L. xlv. 23. 1-5 and 22. 4); but their excuses are utterly scouted by the Romans, though naturally their case was much damaged by their open pro-Macedonian sentiments and above all by their attempt at arbitration between Perseus and Rome. Eumenes got himself into similar disfavour by his attitude during the same war (L. xlv. 24, 25). It is even reported that a special *lex* was passed in order to deal him an insult (L. *Epit.* 46, Pol. xxx. 20. 1-14). The story, whether of the negotiations, whether of the consequences, is doubtful, but illustrates the severe attitude of the Romans towards neutrals.

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There are also several passages in ancient authors which expressly confirm this principle.

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The voluntary nature of the help sent by the *amici* is confirmed most strongly by the recorded facts and details of joint warfare.

In examining the wars which Rome undertook in Greece and Asia from 211 B.C. onwards one is struck by the immense difference in military position between the *amici* and the *socii*. The usual remark made on this subject is that Rome thought so badly of her Eastern friends, and especially of their infantry, that she hardly cared to make use of them. But the Rhodians might well boast of having won Rome's victories by sea and the Aetoli by land, though it was the practice of the Romans habitually to conceal the amount of assistance which she obtained from her allies.<sup>1</sup>

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Rome especially to place his troops at Rome's disposal. Records of such embassies are exceedingly numerous: they were invariably received with the greatest empressement by the Senate: free quarters and handsome gifts were assigned to the ambassadors, and, more important, a formal decree of acceptance and of thanks seems to have been passed. Nothing could show more clearly the voluntary nature of the help offered: for at no period in her history was Rome wont to give thanks for what she thought she could demand.

Here are a few examples of such embassies:

L. xxii. 37. 1-13. From Hiero, 216 B.C.

L. xliii. 3. 6. Masinissa's promises in 171 B.C. Repeated in 170 B.C. L. xliii. 6. 11.

L. xxxvi. 4. 1-9. Promises from Philip (accepted), Ptolemy (not accepted), Masinissa (accepted), and for extra help from Carthage (not accepted), 190 B.C.

Pol. xxviii. 12. From the Achaeans to the Roman Consul, 171 B.C.

L. xliii. 6. 1. 'Multarum Graeciae Asiaeque ciuitatum legati' (170 B.C.).

These had been preceded the year before by legati, sent by the Romans themselves to Asia to collect promises of assistance (L. xlii. 26. 7, 29, cf. xxx. 2. 3. 4) and to Greece (xlii. 37. 1-9.). This was an obvious course when war threatened.

There is an interesting record of the reverse process, *i.e.* of Rome placing herself at the disposal of an *amicus*. This was in 200 B.C. when Rome offered to assist Masinissa. L. xxxi. 11. 12.

For a decree of thanks and reward cf. L. xxii. 37. 10-13, Pol. xxi. 2.

Extra help, after the amount due according to the *foedus* had been supplied, could be offered by the *socii*, and was then in the same category as that of the *amici*, that is to say, the offer was made by special embassy and specially accepted by the Senate with thanks. In L. xxxvi. 4. 5-10 the distinction between the help due from the Carthaginians as *socii*, and the extra voluntary help that they offer, is clearly drawn.

As has been already noticed troops could be requisitioned from the *socii* at any time. (Pol. i. 16. 2, Cic. *Verr.* V. 17. 43.) In fact, in times of peace, most of the disagreeable garrison and police duties were turned on to the shoulders of the *socii*.<sup>1</sup> How different was the position of the *amici*! Their aid was offered for the course of one particular war and ceased with its termination. A new war necessitated new embassies and new promises. In many cases the offers were only made for a year, and had to be renewed during the winter or close season. (Cf. L. xxxvi. 4. 1 with xxxvii. 3. 9 and xliii. 3. 6 with xliii. 6. 11.) It is even demonstrable that the *amici* had the right of withdrawing their aid before their promise expired; but in this case, at least, they were under a moral, though not under a legal, obligation to show good cause for so doing, such as attacks on their own dominions. This was only fair, as otherwise Rome might have found herself in an exceedingly awkward position. Such a case is that of Attalus in 198 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, English Translation, 1894. vol. iii. p. 25.



(L. xxxii. 8. 9, quoted supra p. 194). The same thing happens in 191 B.C. (L. xxxvi. 42. 6) and again in 190 B.C. (L. xxxvii. 18. 8). Compare the advice of Hannibal to Antiochus 'Seleucus . . si . . per Thraciam proxima Macedoniae coeperit depopulari, facile ab auxilio ferendo Romanis Philippum ad sua potissimum tuenda auertet' (L. xxxvi. 7. 15); Philip, in 190 B.C., had sent an embassy to Rome promising 'auxilia et pecuniam et frumentum' (L. xxxvi. 4. 2); yet, when the army returns through Macedonia and Thrace, he is not commanded to help, but politely asked to do so (L. xxxvii. 7. 8), and later takes to himself the very greatest credit for so doing (L. xxxix. 28. 7, 10). Antiochus IV, again, makes but a weak apology for the non-fulfilment of his promises in 171 B.C. (Cf. L. xlv. 13. 2 with xlii. 26. 7. 8, 29. 6.) Later we find Juba withdrawing his help from Pompeius, in order to defend his own dominions against Sittius and Bocchus (Hirt. *Bell. Afr.* 25, cf. 48 and 55).<sup>1</sup>

But, above all, it was in regard to the amount of men, etc., supplied, that the *amici* had such great privileges in comparison with the *socii*, who were always liable to a fixed amount. Sometimes definite promises were made (L. xxii. 37. 5, 6, 8; xxxvi. 5. 8; xliii. 6. 11, 12, 13): at other times carte blanche was offered (L. xxxvii. 3. 9; xlii. 26. 8, 29. 7; xliii. 6. 3, 13): often the ambassadors made definite offers and then finished with a general promise to supply anything else that Rome might want. These lavish promises were practically nominal: the amount of troops, ships, etc., to be sent, was entirely in the hands of the senders (L. xxxiv. 34. 5: each state is evidently to settle how much it can send, cf. xxxiii. 3. 7, 8), and depended on how far their interests were engaged in helping any expedition.<sup>2</sup> Naturally the Roman general would state his necessities (Pol. xxvii. 7. 1), and the amount sent must frequently have been a matter of arrangement between him and the *amicus*. The word *hortari* is often used of the wishes of the Roman general to the *amici*, e.g. 'auxilia, ut pro uiribus suis quaeque ciuitates mitterent, est hortatus' (L. xxxiv. 24. 7). Sometimes the Roman general was present at the actual meeting when the numbers were fixed (L. xxxiii. 3. 7, 8, xxxv. 50. 3) 'auxilia etiam, quo censuit Quinctius, quingentorum militum Chalcidem . . extemplo miserunt Achaei' shows a mutual arrangement between the Roman emperor and the *amici*. Yet in the matter of supplies, the Roman generals, from the nature of the case, were more inclined to hold the *amici* to their promises of unlimited aid. Thus the Athenian legati complain to the Senate (170 B.C.): 'ii se, quod nauium habuerint militumque, P. Licinio consuli et C. Lucretio exposuerunt: quibus eos non usos frumenti sibi centum

<sup>1</sup> There is a doubtful story that Eumenes, in spite of his promises in 172 B.C. (L. xlii. 26. 7. 8), had refused help in 169 B.C., without assigning any proper reason (L. xliii. 13. 12). This rests on the authority of Valerius Antias, and is on a par with the story of Eumenes' negotiations with Perseus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. xxxviii. 12. 6. 'Eumenem haud in tempore abesse credere consul, gnarum locorum hominumque et cuius interesset frangi Gallorum opes. Attalum igitur fratrem eius accersit a Pergamo,

hortatusque ad capessendum secum bellum pollicentem suam suorumque operam domum ad comparandum dimittit.' The result is an advance-guard alone of 1000 foot and 500 cavalry. Cf. the 10000 foot and 1000 cavalry with which the Achaei came to the war against Nabis, in whose destruction they were so interested (L. xxxiv. 25. 3), with the 1000 and 1500 men only contributed to the war against Antiochus. (L. xlii. 44. 6, 55. 10: cf. 1000 men in xxxv. 50. 3.)



milia imperasse, quod, quanquam sterilem terram ararent, ipsosque etiam agrestis peregrino frumento alerent, tamen, ne deessent officio, confecisse et alia, quae imperarentur, praestare paratos esse' (L. xliii. 6. 3). There was evidently a good deal of overlapping and confusion: an unnecessary demand is recorded in Pol. xxvii. 7, where the Rhodian ships, which had been successfully despatched by the pro-Romanisers, were not wanted after all and returned. Again various *amici* might supply the same article, or different Roman commanders would send in requests without consulting each other (Pol. xxviii. 13. 7-14). This became so serious, that in 170 B.C. the Senate found it necessary to pass a *senatusconsultum*, telling the *amici* not to send in anything for which the Senate had not sent a formal request (L. xliii. 17. 23, cf. Pol. xxviii. 13. 11).

Again, the troops of the *amici*, after having joined the Roman forces, were in a very much better position than the troops of the *socii*. The latter, though they had their own *praefecti*, were absolutely under the command of Rome and considerably worse treated than the Roman citizen troops.<sup>1</sup> The troops of the *amici* were by no means under the command of the Roman general.<sup>2</sup> Of course, where concerted action was necessary, the Roman general was often commander-in-chief. Thus he placed the troops in battle: e.g. at Magnesia and Cynoscephalae: cf. L. xxxiii. 7. 7 and 13: the Roman line asks Flamininus for reinforcements: 'quingenti equites et duo milia peditum, maxime Aetolorum, cum duobus tribunis militum (i.e. Roman officers) propere missa'; and L. xxxvii. 39. 9 'a parte dextra consul Achaeorum caetratis immixtos auxiliares Eumenis, tria milia ferme peditum, aequata fronte instruxit.' On the other hand, in App. *Syr.* 33 and 34, Eumenes gives his own orders to his troops, and even to some Roman and Italian cavalry, 'ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰταλῶν παρετετάχατο.' So too in Hirt. *Bell. Alex.* 39 Domitius Calvinus places Deiotarus' troops, but in Cic. *Phil.* xi. 13. 33 Deiotarus is expressly called 'dux copiarum suarum.' In App. *B.C.* ii. 70 we read 'Πομπηίῳ . . . συνεμάχουν . . . Λάκωνες ὑπὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις βασιλεῦσι τεταγμένοι,' and in Dio C. xliii. 38. 2 (battle of Munda) we find that Bocchus is 'ἐξωθέν που τῶν συνεστηκότων.' We may infer that, if the Roman commander had at his disposal the troops of the 'friends,' it was because their own commanders had agreed exceptionally to put themselves under his orders. Conversely, the Roman general might agree to lend some of his troops to an *amicus* (L. xxxii. 14. 1; xxxvii. 8. 7). All these things were matters of arrangement between the parties concerned: cf. L. xxxi. 46. 1-5, a meeting between Attalus, Pyrrhias the Aetolian, and the Roman commander, 'ad colloquendum de ratione gerendi belli'; xlii. 29. 4 'Ariarathes . . . in omnia belli pacisque se consociauerat consilia'; xxxvi. 10. 10 'ex communi consilio'; xxxvii. 16. 1 'Liuius . . . Rhodum prius iussus adire et omnia cum iis communicare consilia,' cf. ch. 17; xlii. 57. 4 'consultantibus Romanis, quid agerent—aderant autem Eumenes et Attalus in consilio.' In any case, the 'friends' always

<sup>1</sup> See Mommsen. *Hist. of Rome* iii. pp. 491, 492 (Engl. transl. 1894).

<sup>2</sup> Such mercenaries as Rome hired from her friends

were naturally under her own orders and discipline, cf. L. xxxvii. 39. 12.



remained free to, and frequently did, undertake separate expeditions:<sup>1</sup> they generally had their own camp,<sup>2</sup> and seized on their own plunder.<sup>3</sup>

A far more important privilege, and one most zealously guarded by the *amici*, was the right of being represented at all negotiations with the enemy, a right which sprang from the original ideal that all wars were joint-wars. The praetors and officials of the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues, Philip of Macedon, Attalus of Pergamum, the commander of the Rhodian fleet and the Athenian<sup>4</sup> magistrates were at different times present at the negotiations with the enemy, and there are records of numerous and important speeches made by them. Thus at the negotiations with Philip before Cynoscephalae, the demands of the *amici* are treated as of great importance (L. xxxii. 33. 4 to end of ch.). When Philip demands a private interview with the Roman general, this is at first refused 'ne excludi colloquio uiderentur socii' (35. 6). At last it is arranged; but the *amici* are scrupulously consulted—'Quinctius haec rettulit ad socios etc.' (§ 9), and their wishes considered (36. 5). There was evidently some sort of voting or taking of opinions: this is evident from 'in hanc sententiam et ceteri sociorum principes concesserunt' (36. 8) and from 'cum omnes bellum decressent' (xxxiv. 24. 7). How unusual it was for the Roman general to conduct any negotiations without the *amici* is shown by the special decree passed by the *amici* in L. xxxiv. 34. 9 to enable Flamininus to do so. There was probably a similar decree of authorisation given him before Cynoscephalae: cf. L. xxxiii. 11. 3. 7, where his conduct before and after the battle is contrasted by the Aetoli, 'ante pugnam omnia magna paruaque communicare cum sociis solitum: nunc omnium expertes consiliorum esse: suo ipsum arbitrio cuncta agere.' Flamininus had only taken on himself to grant Philip *indutiae* for the burying of his dead, a truce which no one, least of all a Greek, could have thought of refusing. Even Livy admits, however, that this was a slight to the Aetoli: 'et haud dubie decesserat iis aliquantum honoris' (11. 7).

There is no reason to suppose that the *socii* were ever present at such negotiations, or that they encamped separately, or undertook separate expeditions.

<sup>1</sup> L. xxxi. 41. 3-42. 9. (Expedition of the Aetoli 200 B.C.); xxxii. 13. 10-15, 14. 4 (activity of the Aetoli and Amynder 198 B.C.); xxxviii. 7. 2 (naval expedition of Pleuratus 189 B.C.); xxxii. 4. 2 (the Aetoli try to relieve Thaumaci 199 B.C.); xxxiii. 14. 1-15. 16 (the Achaei in Peloponnese 197 B.C.); xxxv. 25 (the Achaei against Nabis 192 B.C.); xxxvii. 20 (the Achaei in Asia 190 B.C.); and many other examples, especially in naval warfare.

<sup>2</sup> Oros. vi. 16. 3, Hirt. *Bell. Afr.* 48 and *Bell. Alex.* 63. This, perhaps, was hardly considered a privilege, cf. L. xlii. 26. 7-8. Probably again a matter of arrangement: cf. Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1. 14. For the use of the same camp cf. L. xxxvi. 10. 12; xlii. 55. 10; xlii. 13. 12 and perhaps xxxiv. 25. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The notorious case of the Aetoli at Cynoscephalae (L. xxxiii. 10. 6, 11. 8). However bitter the com-

plaints of the Romans were, they only serve to show how completely unfettered were the Aetoli by the discipline of the Roman general: cf. also perhaps L. xxxvii. 8. 8. In L. xxiv. 21. 9 we read of spoil 'given,' 'data dono,' to Hiero by the Roman people. The same in L. xxxvii. 31. 6 to the Rhodians.

<sup>4</sup> In the case of Athens this was particularly noticeable, as she contributed practically nothing to the wars, of one of which she had been the ostensible cause. Yet Attic legati are ubiquitous at the negotiations, etc. L. xxxi. 30. 1-11; xxxii. 19. 5, 12, 21. 21; xxxiii. 29. 8-11; xxxiv. 23. 2-5; xxxv. 32. 7, 12-14, 33. 2; xxxvii. 6. 4-7. 6; xxxviii. 3. 7, 9. 3, 10. 2. 4-6; Pol. xviii. 10. 11. It was not so much that the Athenians were very favoured allies, as that they were useful for doing Rome's dirty work.



To sum up: the *socii*, by their *foedera*, were for ever bound to send a fixed number of troops or ships annually, which should be absolutely under Roman command. The *amici*, whether foederate or nonfoederate, were not bound to more than neutrality: if they sent troops, etc., they did so voluntarily, fixed the numbers themselves, and the time during which they should be available; nor were these troops directly under Roman command.

These distinct and important privileges of the *amici* suggest that *military status was the test which divided an amicus from a socius*.

If this is the case then the history of the Roman relations with the world shows a natural and intelligible development from a military point of view.

The first step was the union of Latium into a military hegemony with Rome at the head. This military coalescence of the Latin tribes under Roman leadership rolled back successfully the threatening hordes of Aequian and Volscian. Step by step it was enlarged until the whole of central Italy was united into one great military power; for as tribe after tribe submitted to Rome, the prize of victory in each case was the right to command the troops of her new allies, and each increase in the dominion of Rome was marked by a new bond of mutual military aid between her and her new *socii*, i.e. by a *foedus*. Then fear of invasion from over sea, especially from the east, induced her to purchase the assistance of the Greek cities in the south rather than to wait and win it by conquest, especially in view of the impossibility of matching a land-power against a sea-power. Hence the extraordinarily favourable terms of the *foedera* with the towns of Magna Graecia, *foedera* which, for the most part, date from about the time of the Pyrrhic invasion (e.g. with Velia and Rhegium c. 280, Heracleia 278, Locri 277 B.C.). But though these Greeks enjoyed complete freedom of internal government, it was in consideration of placing a fixed number of ships at the disposal of Rome, and thus the central idea of the *foedus*—mutual military aid—is preserved unimpaired, and Rome is enabled to advance the next step—namely, the conquest of Sicily. Here the same policy<sup>1</sup> is pursued, and the resources of Sicily are added to those of Italy to form one great military power. From this large and densely populated area Rome was able to draw that unfailing supply of troops, with which she finally wore out the mercenary armies of Carthage. But, as in so many respects, in this also the Second Punic War was a turning-point in the history of Rome. Carthage, it is true, became a *socius* by a *foedus* of the old type in 202 B.C., in which was included a clause forcing her to send ships to Rome annually; but so great was the change that had already been introduced that, were it not for an entirely casual remark of Livy (xxxvi. 4. 10), we should have no knowledge of this all-important clause in her treaty, so completely does he pass it over in his account of the terms.

This change was the introduction of the *amicitia*. It is possible that this form of alliance had been known to the Romans as long as the *societas* and that both Massilia and Carthage (till 264 B.C.) were foederate *amici* of Rome. How-

<sup>1</sup> With Syracuse indeed, an *amicitia* was first formed—and Syracuse became *socia* like the rest of Sicily, but this did not last after the death of Hiero,



ever this may be, it was to all intents and purposes a new form of alliance, which marks the beginning of Rome's connexion with her first Eastern friend, Ptolemy of Egypt, in 272 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It in so far resembled the *societas* that a *foedus* was concluded; but it was no such *foedus* as bound the Italian *socii* to strict military union with their mistress. It ensured neutrality alone and friendly feeling, but it produced absolutely no identity of military undertakings. It was, in fact, the death-blow of the old *foedus*. From 229 B.C. onwards the whole of the Greek and Asiatic peoples gradually enrol themselves as friends of Rome, and in more and more cases the *foedus* is dropped or becomes a mere settlement after a war, entirely dissociated from the permanent conditions of the *amicitia*. A transition stage is shown in the *foedus* of 211 B.C. An engagement was entered on with the Aetoli for mutual military help; but the new state of things is plainly visible: the engagement was only meant to be a temporary one: it proved, in fact, shorter than was intended, and was not restored but replaced by an *amicitia*.

Was this great change, whereby Rome granted her allies terms so much more favourable, really part of a definite policy? Hardly. Italy, in spite of tribal cleavages, was yet ethnically a whole: the *foedus* and the *fetiales* were not Roman, or even Latin, but Italian institutions. It was but a natural development that central Italy should coalesce together into one military power connected by *foedera*.

But when Rome tried to force this system on extra-Italian nations, the attempt was a failure. At the very outset the old and cherished ceremony of declaring war had to be changed into a meaningless form; and although one or two attempts to keep it alive were made later (L. xxxvi. 3. 8), it really ceased to have any meaning from the moment that Pyrrhus, the first foreign invader, landed in Italy (Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* ix. 53). More fatal still was the failure to extend the system of the *foedus* and the *sponsio*. The treaty, *pax* (L. viii. 17. 10), which Rome concluded with Alexander of Epirus in 332 B.C., we may indeed suppose to have been something in the nature of a *foedus*. It is at any rate reasonable to infer that it was a treaty of alliance, alliance against the Samnites and Lucanians, with which peoples both parties were in conflict. It was evidently part of a desperate scheme of Rome to form a coalition against Samnium before the outbreak of the Second Samnite War in 326: the detachment of the Lucani from the Samnite cause in 326 (L. viii. 25. 3) made it unnecessary for Rome to call upon Alexander for aid. But the overtures of Pyrrhus towards a peace ensuring probably simple neutrality, such as was common in Greece, are rejected. Later Roman historians invented a picturesque story of old Appius and Roman patriotism, but the rejection may also have been due in part to the suspicion of new and unusual terms proposed by the foreigner, alien from the familiar fetial system of military alliances.

These are, however, isolated and exceptional instances. More instructive is the fact that the *fetiale ius* was never really introduced among the barbarians in the north. It is true that we hear of a good many compacts between Rome and Alpine tribes,

<sup>1</sup> Or with Rhodes in 306, if this early date be correct.



some of which are called *foedera*—but not one of them seems to have lasted beyond a very short time. Now the very essence of the *foedus* was its sacrosanct eternity. Perhaps it was found impossible to imbue the uncivilised and shifting population of the mountains with the respect due to these sacred, but peculiar, institutions. It seemed safer to insist on unconditional *deditio* after every victory, and then to embody the virtual terms of peace in a *pactio* granted by the Roman general. This finally became the regular method of procedure in dealing with many barbarian peoples who lacked a permanent dynasty.

Neither did civilised peoples prove more amenable. Efforts to induce Carthage to recognise, *e.g.* the *sponsio*, led to endless disputes during the Punic Wars. She absolutely refused to have the intricacies of an entirely alien system of international law developed to her detriment, and probably regarded as an unpardonable insult the demand of Rome for the *traditio* of Hannibal in 219, which according to Roman ideas was justifiable and perfectly regular, though indeed it is more than likely that the whole story of the incident of Saguntum has been falsified by Roman historians in order to place Roman conduct in a good light. Much of that evil reputation which clung to the 'foedifragi Poeni' must have had its origin in real misunderstandings due to the clash of two different systems of international ethics and ceremonies. Apparently each nation clung to its own ritual, for we are told by Polybius (iii. 25. 6) that, in making the treaties, the Romans and Carthaginians each swore by their own gods.

In the west the Romans made desperate efforts to work the *foedus* and *sponsio* and gained some apparent triumphs, *e.g.* over the Numantines, who could obtain no satisfaction for their broken treaty beyond the empty offer of the *traditio* of Mancinus. As we know, this offer was refused.<sup>1</sup> In reality Rome was entirely unable to engraft the system: for we find the Gaditani quite ready to rely on a *sponsio*, instead of securing for themselves the assurance of a *foedus*, and—this is important—the Romans themselves have for years acquiesced in the arrangement as perfectly sufficient and satisfactory (Cic. *pro Balbo* § 34). This shows how little value the once all-important ceremonies of the *foedus* came to have.

Yet for long, in spite of the neglect of fetial ceremony and ritual, the spirit of the *foedus*—namely the spirit of indissoluble, everlasting military alliance—did not altogether vanish. Spanish and Gallic cavalry, Ligurian light-armed troops, and Carthaginian warships formed an integral part of Roman army and fleet. The next step forward in Rome's career of conquest brought her into contact with the Greeks, among whom she found a complicated and highly developed rival system of international usage. Her new friends had thoroughly adopted the principles of arbitration, neutrality, and temporary military alliances: they would have nothing to say to an indissoluble oath of military subjection. It must also be remembered that their uninterrupted aid was not nearly so vital to Rome as

<sup>1</sup> A similar and much earlier case among the Ligurians in 236 B.C. is found in Dio Cass. fr. 45 (Bekker), cf. fr. 61 for the attitude of the Carthaginians towards the *traditio*.



that of the Italians had been. The wars preceding the Second Punic War and the Second Punic War itself were wars for existence: the wars following were wars for conquest.

Hence the rise of the *amicitia*, or *amicitia societasque*, which was in its nature a compromise: it preserved the Roman principle of perpetuity by being a friendship without fixed termination—*amicitia*—, and the Greek principle of temporary alliances, by the aid only offered in times of stress—*et societas*.

A question may perhaps arise, why this modification did not develop before, when Rome came into contact with the cities of Magna Graecia, which were also Greek. It seems plausible to suppose that these Greeks, who were then no very vigorous specimens of their race, and who must have been to a large extent italianised by the effect of time and surroundings, were willing to adapt themselves to the Roman requirements, in consideration of being delivered from the terrible scourge of the Bruttii and Lucani. Besides, though their *foedera* were the same in principle as those of the other *socii*, they worked out very differently in practice. It was easy to find the money to provide the ships and to pay the poorer classes or the mercenaries who rowed them: personal service was never required of these Greeks, whereas the Italian manhood was killed off in the Roman battles, or sent to the dreaded garrison-duty in far distant Spain. How extraordinarily favourable the clauses of these Greek *foedera* must have been may be inferred from the fact that, when in 89 B.C. the advantages of the Roman citizenship were offered to the Greeks, some of them hesitated long before exchanging it for their present privileges (Cic. *pro Balbo* 8. 21.)

It is remarkable how soon the *amicitia* decayed and the Roman principles gained the victory. Not only is it possible to trace the gradual loss of the right of making a formal declaration of neutrality, which culminated in the Rhodian fiasco of 167 B.C., but Rome became practically able to overawe the smaller *amici* and force them to send some sort of contributions to her aid, cf. L. xxxii. 39. 10, xlii. 48. 8; Pol. xxviii. 13. 10. 11; Diod. Sic. xxxvi. 1.

More significant is the revival of the *societas*. The Aetoli and the Rhodians, in the days of their weakness and their fear, consented to become *socii* of Rome and to be bound by a *foedus* of the old type (Pol. xxi. 32, L. xxxvii. 11. 1-9).

But even more suggestive of the altered position of Rome in the world, as mistress rather than friend, is the growth of a type of *amicitia*, which has not a little of the *societas* about it. Such 'friends' approximate to the position of the *socii*, inasmuch as they have a defensive league with Rome, *i.e.* they are bound to assist Rome, and Rome is bound to assist them, in any case where a third party is the aggressor: they approximate to the position of the *amici*, inasmuch as there is no offensive league, *i.e.* no obligation to assist where either of themselves is the aggressive party. This distinction is, of course, of the greatest importance. It allows to the *amicus* the right of declaring war, *i.e.* an independent foreign policy, *i.e.* a national existence: the true *socii* (*Italici*) cannot be said to have had an independent national existence. Moreover, these friends had the title of *amici et*



*socii* (cf. the inscriptions quoted below, and Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10. 6, xiv. 10. 1. 3. 8. 20), and in other respects the privileges of such. These were the right to sacrifice on the Capitol, the right to set up a copy of the treaty in a public place, the right to speak before the comitia once a year, and above all—freedom from conscription: cf. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10. 2. 6, where it is clear that no conscription could take place in Jewish territory:<sup>1</sup> this shows that these alliances were true *amicitiae*, not *societates*. Again, their position could be defined by a *senatusconsultum* (cf. again the case of the Jews) and need not rest on a *foedus*. They must therefore be classed with the *amici* and not with the *socii*.

I give the most important examples of this type of alliance:

(a) Cibra. An inscription preserves the last half of a *foedus*, dated between 188 and 169 B.C. (Dittenberger *Inscr. Orient. Graec.* ii. 762).

(b) The Jews, 160 B.C. The records are Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10. 6 and I *Macc.* 8 sqq. Renewed before 135 B.C. by Simon Maccabaeus: Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7. 3, and in 128 B.C. by Joannes Hyrcanus I: Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 2.

(c) Mytilene. Renewed by Caesar in 45 B.C. (*C.I.L.* xii. 2. 35) and again by Augustus in 25 B.C. (*ibid.*).

(d) Methymne. Probably a little before that of Astypalaea in 105 B.C. The last part of the *foedus* is preserved in an inscription (Dittenberger *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* (1898) vol. i. no. 319).

(e) Astypalaea 105 B.C. The inscription is known (*C.I.G. Insularum maris Aegaei* iii. 173), but the stone itself lost.

Doubtless there were many more of these *foedera* or *senatusconsulta*. During the wars in the East against Mithridates, there must have been a pretty general revision of the status of the towns of Asia Minor, some forming these defensive leagues, some becoming *socii*.

Accordingly the end of the Third Macedonian War ushers in a distinct change in the foreign policy of Rome. There is not only a recrudescence of the pure *societas*, but the *amicitia* is affected as well. Henceforward three kinds of alliances continue to be formed, *societates*, looked on perhaps somewhat as a disgrace, and two more, regarded as favours, namely, the old and the new type of *amicitia*. Thus is inaugurated that famous system, whereby Rome, mistress rather than friend, constituting herself the dispenser of reward and punishment, alternately flatters and insults the rest of the world.

LOUISE E. MATTHAEL.

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish soldiers mentioned later in §§ 11, 12, etc. of the same ch. were liable to conscription, because they were *Roman citizens*, resident in some

Eastern city: cf. 'Ιουδαῖοι πολῖται 'Ρωμαίων passim.

## AD SENECAE EPISTVLAS MORALES.

*Epist.* 14 15 p. 39 12 *Hense*: 'quid ergo? utique erit tutus, qui hoc propositum sequetur?' promittere tibi hoc non magis possum quam in homine temperanti bonam ualetudinem, et tamen facit temperantia bonam ualetudinem.

Quis uerebitur temperanti bonam ualetudinem promittere, si fit temperantia? Supplendum est '<ad> bonam ualetudinem', cf. *Ep.* 68 13 p. 219 3: 'haec aetas optime facit ad (=apposita est ad) haec studia', 92 6 p. 391 6: 'ad hanc uitam facit titillatio corporis', *Dial.* ix 6 2 p. 256 16 *Hermes*: 'quorundam contumacia non facit ad aulam'.

*Epist.* 20 2 p. 56 25: facere docet philosophia, non dicere, et hoc exigit, ut ad legem suam quisque uiuat, ne orationi uita dissentiat, ut ipsa inter se uita . . . his sit omnium actio †dissertationum color sit.

'dissertationum' uel 'dissensionum' (*L*) ex antecedenti 'dissentiat' esse ortum primus uidit Madvig scripsitque 'ne orationi uita dissentiat, aut ipsa inter se uita, unus sit omnium actio[dissertio]num color [sit]'. Sed uoculam 'una', quae post 'uita' licet correcta in *L* legitur, non fuisse delendam e similibus locis colligas: *Ep.* p. 206 22: 'unitas uitae', p. 325 13: 'beatam uitam unam esse' (cf. etiam M. Antonin. ix 23: 'αὐτῇ (ἡ πρᾶξις) διασπᾶ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ ἓνα εἶναι'). Itaque codicum *p* et *L*<sup>1</sup> uestigia secutus suspicor: 'ut ipsa inter se uita una sit, ut unus sit omnium actionum color [sit]'. Vltimum 'sit' in deterioribus quibusdam mss. non legitur teste Fickerto. De anaphora cf. p. 364 14: 'tertium est, ut inter impetum actionemque conueniat, ut in omnibus istis tibi ipse consentias'.

*Epist.* 26 2 p. 79 19: exultat (animus) et mihi facit controuersiam de senectute. hunc ait esse florem suum. credamus illi: bono suo utatur. ire in cogitationem iubet et dispicere, quid ex hac tranquillitate ac modestia morum sapientiae debeam, quid aetati, et diligenter excutere, quae non possim facere, quae nolim, †prodesse habiturus. †ad qui si nolim quidquid non posse me gaudeo. quae enim querella est, quod incommodum, si quidquid debeat desinere, defecit?

In loco desperato tentauit 'proinde habiturus atque si nolim, quidquid non posse me gaudeo', nisi praestat 'proinde—ac', ut alibi noster (*de Benef.* p. 62 18 p. 154 6 *Hosius*). 'proinde' (proinde) abiit in 'prodesse' (prodēe). De uerbis 'posse—nolle' cum obiecto uide quae adnotabimus ad *Dial.* xii 10 3.



*Epist.* 45 8 p. 125 16: sic ista sine noxa decipiunt, quomodo praestigiatorum acetabula et calculi, in quibus me fallacia ipsa delectat. effice, ut quomodo fiat intellegam, perdidit usum.

Suspitor 'perdidi lusum' (=actum est de animi auocatione), cf. 95 33 p. 432 15: 'per lusum ac iocum occiditur', 102 2 p. 471 25: 'tam bellum somnium perdidit'.

*Epist.* 49 5 p. 138 8: negat Cicero, si duplicetur sibi aetas, habiturum se tempus, quo legat lyricos: eodem loco \* \* \* dialecticos: tristius inepti sunt. illi ex professo lasciuunt, hi agere ipsos aliquid existimant.

Recte quidem suppluit Haase 'eodem loco <pone> dial.', cf. *Dial.* vii 5 2 p. 200 21: 'eodem loco pone homines—', sed rem non absoluit; haec enim fere desiderantur: 'eodem loco dialecticos <pone, nisi quod> tristius inepti sunt'. Cf. *Dial.* p. 78 17: 'ferarum iste conuentus est, nisi quod illae inter se placidae sunt'; de uerbo postposito cf. *de Benef.* p. 38 11: 'eodem loco latronem pone', *Epist.* p. 159 23: 'in his—essedas transcurrentes pono'.

*Epist.* 72 3 p. 239 19: non multum refert, utrum omittas philosophiam an intermittas. non enim ubi interrupta est, manet, sed eorum more, quae intenta dissiliunt, usque ad initia sua recurrit, quod a continuatione discessit.

V 'dissiliunt' superscr. *e* (a prima manu ut uidetur); uoluit ergo librarius 'desiliunt'. Fuerit olim 'resiliunt', quod praestare uidetur; et in uno Ottoboniano legitur 'retenta dissiliunt'.

*Epist.* 76 30 p. 268 2: dominis suis incubant grauia et illos semper premunt, aliquando et inlidunt.

Lipsius edidit 'elidunt', recte ut uidetur; cf. p. 40 27: 'maiore corporis sarcina animus eliditur', p. 202 15: 'iniurias uirtus—elidit atque opprimit', *de Clem.* p. 225 19: 'turba—eliditur', *N. Q.* vi 12 1: 'premit et elidit'.

*Epist.* 77 5 p. 270 20: Tullius Marcellinus, quem optime noueras, adulescens quietus et cito senex,—coepit deliberare de morte.

Relege, sis, quid de hoc Tullio scripserit Seneca in *Ep.* 29, et finge tibi nunc eum dici quietum! Sed emendatio in promptu est: adi. *Terent. Eunuch.* iv 4 21: 'Hic est *uietus* uetus ueternosus senex.'

*Epist.* 77 15 p. 273 10: Tam prope libertas est: et seruit aliquis? ita? non sic perire filium tuum malles quam per inertiam senem fieri?

Ante Buechelerum interpungebatur 'ita non—malles eqs.' = οὐτως οὐκ—; de qua rogandi formula Epicteto usitata egimus in *Class. Rev.* xx 2 p. 107, a. Cf. *de Benef.* p. 29 3: 'Ita tu hominem non seruabis in tenebris?'

*Epist.* 80 6 p. 290 12: compara inter se pauperum et diuitum uultus: saepius pauper et fidelius ridet; nulla sollicitudo in alto est; etiam si qua



incidit cura, uelut nubes leuis transit: horum, qui felices vocantur, hilaritas ficta est eqs. (= Excerptum *de paupertate* 80 6 p. 460 Haase).

Vix uere dixeris 'saepius' ridere pauperes quam diuites simulatores, quibus ut ipse dicere pergit Seneca 'interdum non licet palam esse miseros, sed inter aerumnas cor ipsum exedentes necesse est agere felicem,' certe uultu non indicatur quam saepe quis rideat, sed quae sit risus indoles. 'Saepius' ortum uidetur ex compendio uocis 'simplicius', cf. *fragm.* 90 p. 435 Haase: 'inexplorata fronte, per quam produntur animi, incertum est quam simpliciter detegatur ira, quam fideliter desinat,' Cic. *pro Plancio* 9 22: 'fidelis et simplex regio', *de Off.* 1 26 92: 'uiuere simpliciter, fideliter'.

*Epist.* 82 12 p. 304 1: omnia ista per se non sunt honesta nec gloriosa, sed quicquid ex illis uirtus adiit tractauitque, honestum et gloriosum facit.

Non audeo quicquam mutare quamquam ualde dubito an scripserit Seneca 'adtingit,' coll. 66 8 p. 199 1: '(uirtus) quidquid attigit,<sup>1</sup> in similitudinem sui adducit et tinguat:—quidquid tractauit, id amabile, conspicuum, mirabile facit,' collatis etiam p. 310 30: 'ait' (*P*) pro 'agit', p. 319 17: 'adiectu' (*P*) pro 'adgestu', p. 331 22: 'subiebat' (*P*) pro 'subigebat', p. 342 17: 'sacrileia' (*V*) pro 'sacrilegia'; contra p. 150 11: 'agebat' (*VP*) pro 'aiebat', p. 357 4: 'coniectus' (*V*) pro 'coniectus'.

*Epist.* 84 8 p. 318 6: etiam si cuius in te comparebit similitudo, quem admiratio tibi altius fixerit, similem esse te uolo, quomodo filium, non quomodo imaginem: imago res mortua est. 'quid ergo? non intellegatur, cuius imiteris orationem? cuius argumentationem? cuius sententias?' puto aliquando ne intellegi quidem posse, si magni uiri. \* \* \* nec enim omnibus, quae ex quo uelut exemplari traxit, formam suam impressit, ut in unitatem illa competant.

Si ita scripsisset Seneca ut uolebat Madvig: 'si imago uera sit: haec enim omnibus—' uel ut editor: 'si imago est, nedum si magni uir ingenii omnibus—', non uideo quomodo non summae inconstantiae reus euaderet, ut qui paulo ante nihil magis damnauisset quam ipsam imaginem, rem mortuam: neque (in Madvigii coniectura) plane intellego quid sit 'imago formam suam alicui rei imprimens'. Sed in eo cum editore consentiens quod ex uno deteriore codice uerba 'magni uir ingenii' adseruanda esse putat (cf. p. 543 12: 'magni uir ingenii') in sequentibus unam litteram muto: 'si m. u. i. omnibus, quae ex quo uelut exemplari traxit, formam suam impressit', ut haec omnia cum praecepto concinant (p. 317 13): 'nos quoque has apes debemus imitari et quaecumque ex diuersa lectione conguessimus, separare, melius enim distincta seruantur, deinde adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate in unum saporem uaria illa libamenta confundere, ut etiam si apparuerit, unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum est, appareat.' De 'si' (post 'aliquando') = 'nempe si' cf. ex. gr. p. 424 16: 'aliquando (praecepta)

<sup>1</sup> attingere = contingere quod legitur p. 229 21, 237 15; cf. p. 561 2 (contactu), *Dial.* p. 61 30, et Gertz. ad *Dial.* vii 16 1.



frustra admoventur, si animum opiniones obsident prauae', p. 533 17, *De Benef.* p. 147 15, *Dial.* p. 85 18.

*Epist.* 85 36 p. 329 3: itaque gubernatori fortasse noceat, cum eius ministerium aliis promissum tempestate impeditur: sapienti non nocetur a paupertate, non a dolore, non ab aliis tempestatibus uitae.

'cuius' quod *V P* habent pro 'cum eius' asseruari potest, si 'noceatur' scribitur, quod suadere uidetur sequens 'non nocetur.' Schweighaeuseri coniecturam repetere me uideo.

*Epist.* 89 15 p. 364 17: quid enim prodest in te aestimata habere omnia, si sis in impetu nimius?

Sic Buecheler pro 'inter aestimata'; notandum tamen etiam in *Ep.* 95, 59 p. 439 23: 'hoc nescies, nisi constitutionem ipsam, qua ista inter se aestimantur, inspexeris', in *B* primo scriptum fuisse 'inter aestimantur', ubi Gertz 'rite aestimantur' suspicatus est. Itaque aut utrobique 'inter se' scribendum esse uidetur, aut verbo 'interaestimare' sic usus esse Seneca putandus est, ut esset pro '(res) inter se comparando aestimare' (p. 295 16, *de Benef.* p. 116 22).

*Epist.* 92 4 p. 390 16: quid potest desiderare is, cui omnia honesta contingunt? nam si possunt aliquid non honesta conferre ad optimum statum, in his erit beata uita, sine quibus honesta. et quid turpius stultiusue quam bonum rationalis animi ex irrationalibus nectere? quidam tamen augeri summum bonum iudicant.

Retinendum puto quod est in mss.: 'sine quibus non est' (sc. beata) i.e. ad beatam uitam (optimum statum) iam *necessaria* erunt inhonesta, si sine his beata non erit; iam non conferent, sed erunt condicio sine qua non; cf. *Ep.* 124 15 p. 596 12 ubi demonstratur in muto animali bonum non esse: 'in quo non potest beata uita esse, nec id potest, quo beata uita efficitur.' Ceterum uerba 'et quid—nectere?' transpono ad 6 p. 391 5: 'alterum illud, uoluptas, bonum pecoris est. adicimus rationali irrationale, honesto inhonestum: <et quid turpius stultiusue quam bonum rationalis animi ex irrationalibus nectere?>'.

*Epist.* 92 19 p. 395 7:—crus solidum et lacertus et dentes et horum sanitas firmitasque.

'et ceterorum sanitas' Buecheler, 'et ossium s.' editor, quod praestare uidetur, sed potius mihi erat 'et neruorum', cf. p. 277 6: 'maximi dolores consistunt in macerrimis corporis partibus: nerui articuliue et quicquid aliud exile est, acerrime saeuit, cum in arto uitia concepit', p. 571 12: 'alias nerui nos, alias pedes uexant', p. 478 2: 'ossa neruiue, firmamenta fluidorum ac labentium', *Dial.* p. 72 8: 'ossa neruiue et articuli, firmamenta totius et uitalia'.



*Epist.* 94 17 p. 408 2:—erit ipso, quem monebit, insanior: [si]bilis nigra curanda est.

'sibilis' *A B*, sed prior 's' correcta in *B*; fortasse fuit 'ei.'

*Epist.* 95 36 p. 433 8: 'quid ergo? non quidam sine institutione subtili euaserunt probi—?' fateor, sed felix illis ingenium fuit et salutaria in transitu rapuit, nam ut di immortales nullam didicere uirtutem cum omni editi et pars eorum est bonos esse, ita quidam ex hominibus egregiam sortiti indolem in ea, quae tradi solent, perueniunt sine longo magisterio et honesta complexi sunt, cum primum audire, unde ista tam rapacia uirtutis ingenia uel ex se fertilia.

'sunt ista—' Windhaus (Progr. des Ludwig-Georg's Gymn. zu Darmstadt 1879 p. 16), a sententia quidem aptissime, a palaeographia minus. Fortasse supplendum est '<ab>unde ista—fertilia', cf. *de Clem.* p. 236 22: 'felix abunde sibi visus'.

*Epist.* 95 46 p. 436 11: hoc in omnibus rebus accidet nobis, <nisi> eximuntur quae reprendunt animos et detinent et †preconarique totos uetant.

'ire conarique totos' (=toto animo p. 424 22) Buecheler. An 'p<erge>re conarique—'? Cf. p. 486 19: 'agmine facto gens illuc humana pergeret', *Dial.* p. 31 13: 'ad illa nitens pergensque'.

*Epist.* 102 11 p. 474 3: deinde claritas desiderat multa suffragia? potest et unius boni uiri iudicio esse contenta: nos bonus bonos iudicat.

Mueck proposuit: 'nos (Stoicos) unus bonus bonos iudicat', sed neque de Stoicorum solorum claritate agitur neque non iustam controuersiam haec possit prouocare sententia<sup>1</sup>, ut ea quoque quae est in Windhausii coniectura: 'unus bonus bonos iudicat'. Desideratur potius 'unus bonus *pro omnibus*<sup>2</sup> iudicat' = quod paulo post sequitur 'si de me bene uir bonus sentit, eodem loco sum, quo si omnes boni idem sentirent'. Verum utut haec sunt, certe ab interpunctione locus laborat: respondetur ad 8 (p. 473 9 sqq.); omnia quae illic a ficto aduersario una proferuntur, diuisa percenset Seneca, unde sic interpungendum est: 'deinde: "claritas desiderat multa suffragia": potest et unius boni uiri iudicio esse contenta'. Vide quae scribemus ad *Benef.* III 14 p. 63 6.

*Epist.* 102 27 p. 478 14: aequo animo membra iam superuacua dimitte et istuc corpus diu inhabitatum pone: scindetur, obruetur, abolebitur. quid contristaris? ita solet fieri: pereunt †saepe uelamenta nascentium.

'secundae' (secde) pro 'saepe' Buecheler. Potest etiam in 'sepe' latere 'nēpe' (nempe), quod non semper primo loco ponit Seneca, uelut p. 8 5, *Dial.* p. 348 16.

<sup>1</sup> Id enim quod in uersione ponit Mueck (Obs. critt. gramm. p. 9): 'uns genügt ein einziger Guter, uns für gut zu erklären' uereor ut in latinis insit

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* p. 320 11: 'hic pro omnibus est.'



*Epist.* 104 2 p. 481 17: nam cum sciam spiritum illius (Paulinae meae) in meo uerti, incipio, ut illi consulam, mihi consulere. et cum me fortiorem senectus ad multa reddiderit, hoc beneficium aetatis amitto. uenit enim mihi in mentem, in hoc sene et adulescentem esse, cui parcuritur.

Cum non in omnibus sed in hac re tantum aetatis beneficio non utatur, quod sibi iam consulere incipit tamquam adulescenti cui parcuritur, propono: '<in> hoc—' (sc. in consulendo mihi): opponitur 'ad multa'.

*Epist.* 104 6 p. 482 24: ut primum grauitatem urbis excessi et illum odorem culinarum fumantium, quae motae quicquid pestiferi uaporis †obruent, cum puluere effundunt, protinus mutatam ualitudinem sensi.

Auide arripio, quia absurdum, quod in nonnullis libris est 'obruerant', quod si detergeas inuenies 'obruant'. Comparantur culinae cum stomachis ex crapula fetentibus (*Ep.* p. 430 13: 'quam foedi itaque pestilentesque ructus sunt!').

*Epist.* 104 20 p. 486 23: te igitur emenda, onera tibi detrahe, et [emenda] desideria intra saltem modum contine.

Dittographiam, quam frustra corrigere tentauit editor ('demenda'), eieci; ab huius modi uitiiis, partim iam agnitis et remotis<sup>1</sup>, partim adhuc remouendis nec emendandis, ne Senecae quidem libri integri manserunt: exempli gratia citentur loci hi:

*Epist.* p. 532 10: '[pro] milite prouincias optinent', corr. Buecheler, quem secutus est editor.

*Ibid.* p. 461 2: 'ferae suos diligunt, quarum [contra] concitatus [actus] est amor'. Dittographiam corruptam remouit Fickert, emendare conatus est Buecheler.

*Ibid.* p. 442 24: 'aliis Caesareanas opes, aliis Pompeianas [tibi] fouentibus' 'tibi' quod ex 'fouentibus' fluxit, emendare conatur editor.

*Dial.* p. 164 15: 'et in multos [et in] dolores'. Codicum dett. auctoritate fretus dittographiam deleuit *Hermes*.

*Ibid.* p. 176. 21: 'uidebis—solem, cotidiano cursu diei noctisque spatia signantem, annuo aestates hiemesque aequalius[que] diuidentem.' Sic Haupt, ab editore neglectus.

*Ibid.* p. 165 14: '(quid est homo? inbecillum corpus,) anxiae sollicitaeque tutelae,—[solli] semper sibi nutrimentum uitiosum et inutile' (= corpus se ipsum consumens). Emendare studuerunt uiri docti.

*De Benef.* p. 86 15: 'De ordine [dis]putas disputationem esse?' Ex *G* emendauit *Hosius*, 'in his putas' coni. Gertz.

<sup>1</sup> Gertz, *Studd. Critt.* p. 45.



*Ibid.* p. 105 25: 'Quantum ista nocte, quam tu—obseruas, agitur!' Ita ex uulgata lectione edidit Hosius: codd.: 'quantum' pro 'quam tu'.

*Ibid.* p. 99 22: 'quemadmodum nemo in amorem sui cohortandus est, quem[admo]dum nascitur, trahit, ita eqs.' Ita scribere malo quam 'quem adeo dum', quod ex Modii coniectura dedit editor.

In ultimis duobus non sunt quidem purae dittographiae, sunt tamen consimiles, ut ex eodem fonte, corruptelae, quas postquam semel attigimus etiam in hac materia paulisper uersari lubet:

*Epist.* p. 255 2: 'quemadmodum in corporibus insignis (*pro*: infirmis) languoris signa praecurrunt,—sic infirmus animus eqs.'

*Epist.* p. 333 23: 'hoc loco dicet aliquis: "olim liquet mihi immundissimos fuisse."' Ex iis quae tradiderunt *V<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup>* 'aliquotis liquet' plus eruisse uidetur editor ('aliquis: olim liquet') quam inest; per errorem enim pro 'aliquis liquet' scriptum fuerat 'aliquet liquet', deinde quasi correctum 'aliquot liquet': hoc emendauit posterior librarius, sed litteras delendas notare neglexit: 'aliquotīs liquet'.

*Ibid.* p. 489 17: 'tota illi (M. Catoni) aetas aut in armis est exacta ciuilibus aut intacta concipiente iam ciuile bellum'. 'in iactatione' editor, 'in ciuitate' Windhaus, ad sententiam aptissime Gronovius 'in pace' substituerunt; uerum si corruptelae origo est in antecedenti 'exacta', tres primae litterae 'int—' sanae et integrae sunt; corrigo 'in toga' (cf. *de Benef.* p. 72 7: 'publica rabies quae omni ciuili bello grauius togatam ciuitatem confecit').

*Ibid.* p. 592 4: 'superstitio error † insanandus est: amandos timet; quos colit, uiolat. quid enim interest, utrum deos neges an infames?' Propter sequens 'amandos' uera lectio quam codd. dett. seruauerunt 'insanus' uitiatum est. Quo iure in hunc modum argumentetur Mueller (*Krit. Stud.* iii. p. 31) 'Der nächste Satz (quid enim—) enthält keine Begründung oder Erklärung weder der unmittelbar vorhergehenden Sätze *amandos timet, quos colit uiolat*, welche den Hauptsatz *superstitio error—est* näher ausführen, noch dieses Hauptsatzes selbst' non uideo: quomodo enim non infamat deos, qui sic colendos putat?

*Dial.* p. 301 9: 'hos in ueris officiis morari [putamus] licet dicamus —'. Recte emendauit Gertz (*Studd. Critt.* p. 156) 'puto' (cf. praeter locos quos attulit, *Ep.* p. 166 15: 'Ciceronem auctorem huius uerbi habeo, puto locupletem', *Dial.* p. 343 8: 'uincam autem, puto, primum si ostendero —'), post in editione sua certam emendationem incerta coniectura mutauit ('palam licet'). Idem uir doctus in *Dial.* p. 322 18: 'uidetur ingentibus' male tentauit 'uidetur tibi ingentibus', codicis *B* uitiosa scriptura 'uidentibus ingentibus' inductus.

*De Benef.* p. 113 2: 'Sint hi reges, quia maiores eorum non fuerunt, qui[a] pro summo imperio habuerunt iustitiam, qui[a] non rem publicam sibi, sed se rei publicae dicauerunt. Regnent hi, quia uir bonus quidam ante proauus eorum fuit, qui animum supra fortunam gessit, qui in dissensione ciuili, quoniam ita



expediebat rei publicae, uinci quam uincere maluit.' Gruteri emendationem 'qui[a]—qui[a]' non receperunt nouissimi editores.

*Ibid.* p. 137 6: 'Quomodo, inquit, aduersus malum ingratus est quisquam, cum <a> malo dari beneficium non possit?' Ita Haupt (quem secutus est editor) secundum *GP* 'malo dare'; rectius Feldmann 'malus dare' secundum *NRM* 'male dare'.

*Ibid.* p. 195 25: 'Multum interest, possessio eius animo ac magnitudine aestimetur an censu.' Gertz 'animi hac magnitudine', sed recte Muretus 'animi magnitudine' edidit; ueram lectionem obscurauit dittographia 'ANIMAG MAGNITVDINE'.

*Ibid.* p. 228 20: 'quemadmodum praecisae arbores plurimis ramis repululant et multa satorum genera, ut densiora surgant, reciduntur—'. Reuoca 'pluri~~b~~us'.

*Ibid.* p. 247 28: 'tunc illi dirus animi morbus ad insaniam peruenit ultimam —'. Recte dett.: 'ille'. Sed de dittographiis satis.

*Epist.* 108 8 p. 501 16: omnibus enim natura fundamenta dedit semenque uirtutum. omnes ad omnia ista nati sumus: cum inritator accessit, tunc illa anima bona ueluti soluta excitatur.

Quidquid utile latet in iis codicibus quibus odiosissima stigmatis nota inuri solet, quam diligenter enotauerit editor quamque feliciter haud semel in usum suum conuerterit, sciunt qui uel semel eius editionem inspexerunt; persuasum nimirum habebat non anxie ubique 'optimis' qui uocantur libris esse haerendum, etiam illis aliquid esse tribuendum. Verum, dicam enim ut sentio, minus aequo tribuit, unde factum est ut in nouissima editione interdum mendose legantur quae emendate Lipsii illi ueteres et Gronovii ediderunt. Nam ut omnis in re critica temeritas est cauenda, ita et hoc uidendum ne criticae 'obiectivae' quam dicunt nimio studio abrepti ineptissima quaeque pro lectissimis excipiamus, et dum id agendum est ut falsa a ueris secernantur, non codicum *subsidio* utamur, sed in seruitutem, turpissimam ingenio rem, nos addicamus. Veluti hunc quem exscripsimus locum recte tradiderunt dett.: '—tunc illa animi bona ueluti *sopita* excitantur', cf. p. 411 4: 'omnium honestarum rerum semina animi gerunt, quae admonitione excitantur, non aliter quam scintilla flatu leui adiuta ignem suum explicat'; recte et illos:

p. 113 24: 'recte ergo facies, si non uideris istos, qui quantum dicant, non quemadmodum quaerunt.' 'inuderis istis' conii. Madvig; 'audieris istos' dett. unice uerum est; respicit Seneca quae initio epistulae scripsit: 'audisse te scribis Serapionem philosophum' (p. 111 23).

p. 304 26: 'animus extrema contemnens'. dett.: 'externa'.

p. 321 20: 'habet pecuniae cupiditatem, sed modicam. habet ambitionem, sed non concitatam<sup>1</sup>. habet iracundiam, sed placabilem. habet inconstantiam, sed minus

<sup>1</sup> Etiam p. 258 13: 'morbi sunt inueterata uitia et dura, ut auaritia, ut ambitio: † nimia actus haec



uagam ac mobilem. habet libidinem non insanam'. Vnus cod. Opsopoei: 'sed non insanam'.

p. 392 5 (describitur Scylla 'prima hominis facies' eqs.): 'at isti sapientiam ex quibus composuere portentis? prima ars hominis est—'; dett. 'prima pars'.

p. 396 26: 'beatissimum' inquit 'hunc et hunc diem ago' Epicurus—. 'hunc et summum' Buecheler citans *Cic. de fin.* ii. 96 (supremum), cf. ipsum Senecam *Ep.* p. 210 4: 'Epicurus illo summo ac fortunatissimo die suo'. At in dett. est 'hunc et ultimum', cf. p. 401 29: 'non enim ad eum diem me aptauī, quem ultimum mihi spes auida promiserat, sed nullum non tamquam ultimum aspexi'.

p. 400 4: 'diserte Maecenas ait: 'nec tumultum curo. sepelit natura relictos', alte cinctum putes dixisse. habuit enim ingenium et grande et uirile, nisi illud secundis *rebus* <dis>cinxisset'. Buechelerum secutus est editor; BA: 'secundis cinxisset', dett.: 'secundis discinxisset.' Cf. p. 423 5: 'secunda rectum auferunt,' p. 329 20: 'tam in secundis quam in aduersis', p. 450 21, *Dial.* p. 343 28.

p. 503 7: 'docibilibus', dett.: 'docilibus' ut solet Seneca.

Interdum ne manui quidem correctrici fides deroganda est, praesertim si eadem manus et scripsit et correxit et sana pro insanis substituit, uelut p. 179 22: 'talīs est sapientis animus, qualis mundi (*V*, sed correxit 'mundus') super lunam: semper illic serenum est', p. 311 8: 'plurimum enim interesse concedes et ('et' deleuit *V*) inter ebrium et ebriosum', p. 156 21: 'ille (sapiens) sollicitus scit sibi uiuere. ille enim, quod est primum, scit uiuere', ubi uel si abstinuisset manus correctrix, ipse iam dudum corrigeres 'solus' pro 'sollicitus'; cf., si opus est, *Dial.* p. 300 8: 'Soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae uacant, soli uiuunt'. Nam operam perdidisse mihi uidetur editor cum tentaret '<solus non> sollicitus', sicut perdidērunt qui in *Dial.* ix. 8 9 p. 260 13, ubi in dett. optime legitur 'habiliora sunt corpora in bello, quae in arma sua contrahi possunt' emendare conati sunt quod praue tradidit A 'inbecillo'.

*Epist.* 108 12 p. 502 20: cum haec atque eiusmodi audimus, ad confessionem ueritatis adducimur: illi enim, quibus nihil satis est, admirantur, adclamant eqs.

'illi etiam' Windhaus et Gertz; sed 'enim' asseruari poterat, cf. p. 492 2: 'concupiscuntur enim etiam—'.

*Epist.* 109 6 p. 512 6: nihilominus adiuuant etiam currentem hortaturī. 'non prodest sapienti sapiens, sed sibi ipse. hoc scias. detrahe illi uim propriam, et ille nihil aget'.

Windhaus coll. p. 406 10: 'hoc adeo sic disce' proposuit 'hoc <sic> scias'. Tutius uidetur Haasii sequi rationem id restituentis quod Senecae proprium est

animum implicuerunt, et perpetua eius mala esse coeperunt', forsitan uerum seruauerint dett.: 'ut ambitio nimia: artius haec —'. Morbi ab affectibus gradu et intentione, non re differunt; sunt affectus (uelut pecuniae cupiditas) qui cum in morbos transie-

runt nouis nominibus citentur (auaritia), sunt quibus propter linguae inopiam idem nomen maneat (ambitio, libido); itaque ut 'ambitio nimia' morbus est, ita 'ambitio non concitata' affectus.



'hoc ut scias'; uide exempla: *hoc ut scias* (sequitur argumentum) *Q. N.* ii. 28 4 (p. 481 Fick.), *Ep.* p. 269 7, p. 551 1; *ut scias* c. acc. et inf. uel rogatione subordinata (sequitur argumentum) *Ep.* p. 23 17, p. 40 5, p. 202 19, p. 297 14, p. 421 27, p. 448 15, *Dial.* p. 75 11, p. 160 7; semel, quod sciam, '*ut scias*' ad antecedentia refertur (= unde apparet) *Dial.* p. 49 15. Ceterum pro '*hortaturi*' (Buecheler, *B A*: hortatur)—cur enim tempus futurum?—malim '*hortatus*.'

*Epist.* 113 20 p. 529 12: si uirtus animal est, uirtus autem bonum, non est omne bonum animal? est. hoc nostri fatentur. (*immo*: fatentur:) patrem seruare bonum est, et sententiam prudenter in senatu dicere bonum est, et iuste decernere bonum est: ergo et patrem seruare animal est et prudenter sententiam dicere animal est. eo usque rem exegit, ut risum tenere non possis: prudenter tacere bonum est, <\* \* \* cenare bonum est>: ita et tacere et cenare animal est.

Vt uerus et legitimus restituatur syllogismus, corrigendum erit 'Si uirtus animal est, uirtus autem bonum *omnest*, omne bonum animal est' (p. 372 10: 'intolerabilest', p. 374 2: 'incredibilest', p. 431 1: 'gravest', p. 432 12: 'turpest', similia). De ordine uerborum 'bonum omne' cf. p. 200 6, p. 531 3; de re *Ep.* p. 213 5: 'nullum sine uirtute bonum est', p. 247 16: 'nam qui aliquid uirtute melius putat aut ullum praeter illam bonum', p. 252 18: 'omnium bonorum uis et origo in ipsa (uirtute) est', *Dial.* p. 202 4: 'omne bonis ex uirtute principium est'.

Paulo post lego: 'eo usque res ex[eg]it'<sup>1</sup> ('exiit' Fickert, sed tempori perfecto locus non est; forma autem uulgaris 'exiet' quam edidit Haase apud Senecam non occurrit nisi loco suspecto *Epist.* 17 9, ubi Hense sequitur editionem Romanam 'exiliet e uita', cf. *Ep.* 22 6: 'sed cum illud tempus uenerit, exiliendum ait') coll. *Ep.* p. 110 29: 'in immensum exire', p. 174 21: 'in longum ex.', p. 538 12: 'in uanum ex.', *Benef.* p. 19 13: 'in quantum libet ex.', *Dial.* p. 128 23: 'in deuium exire'; fieri tamen potest ut Seneca scripserit 'excedit'<sup>2</sup>, uide *Ep.* p. 272 3: 'in fabellam excessi', p. 323 2: 'in maius excedunt' (= p. 562 3: 'in maius exeunt'). Lacuna, quae in libris deterioribus male tractata est ('cenare bene bonum est'), supplenda erit '<et prudenter cenare bonum est>', cf. p. 207 7: 'prudenter ambulare', p. 530 7: 'prudens ambulatio', e Stoicorum scilicet praescripto in omnibus actionibus τὴν πρόνοιαν commendantium. Non nego etiam '*frugaliter cenare*', de quo cogitauit editor, recte dici, sicut l. l. (p. 207 7) '*prudenter ambulare, composite sedere*', sed melius hic per totum tmema idem aduerbium subinde recurrit.

*Epist.* 113 31 p. 532 13: doceat me, quam sacra res sit iustitia—.

Revocanda est Haasii emendatio 'doce me' (p. 555 2: 'doce, quomodo feram aerumnam', p. 515 14: 'quid ista res me iuuat? fortiozem fac iam, iustiozem, temperantiozem'); nihil enim his uerbis cum digressionem §§ 29–31, sed a fortitudine,

<sup>1</sup> Simile mendum est in *Dial.* p. 245 24: 'exigitur' cod. det. pro 'exit'.

<sup>2</sup> Mueck, *Obs.* Critt. Gramm. p. 41.



uirtute Stoica—p. 531 17: 'doce me non an fortitudo animal sit, sed nullum animal felix esse sine fortitudine'—pergitur ad alteram uirtutem Stoicam, iustitiam.

*Epist.* 121 21 p. 578 21: si tamen exigis, dicam, quomodo omne animal perniciose intellegere conatur? sentit se carne constare.

Non tantum offendit modus indicatiuus 'conatur' (p. 548 20: 'quare non possumus', quod attulerat Fickert, correxit Madvig, et *Benef.* p. 143 5: 'quo transfert' in 'quo transierit' mutauit Gertz), sed ipsum uerbum conandi. Nonne 'cogatur' scripsit Seneca? Is enim perniciose fugere *cogi* animalia consentit quidem, sed sensu quodam innato<sup>1</sup>, non metu ex fugiendorum usu concepto, quo innuerat aduersarius (p. 575 7): 'ideo', inquit, 'partes suas animalia apte mouent, quia si aliter mouerint, dolorem sensura sunt. ita, ut uos dicitis, coguntur, metusque illa in rectum, non uoluntas mouet', ubi uerba 'ut uos dicitis' ad unum illud 'coguntur' referenda sunt (p. 575 26: 'constitutio', inquit, 'est, ut uos dicitis, principale animi quodam modo se habens erga corpus').

*Epist.* 122 17 p. 586 2: simplex recti cura est, multiplex pravi, et quantumuis nouas declinationes capit. idem moribus euenit: naturam sequentium faciles sunt, soluti sunt, exiguas differentias habent; his distorti plurimum et omnibus et inter se dissident.

Nisi mutati subiecti exemplum esset ad manum—nam 'prauum', non 'cura' subiectum est uerbi 'capit'—*de Clem.* p. 245 7: 'si uero regnum quoque suum tuto relinqui apud eum potuit reponique eo, unde deciderat', cf. etiam *Dial.* p. 260 13: 'habiliora sunt corpora in bello, quae in arma sua contrahi possunt, quam quae superfunduntur et undique magnitudo sua uulneribus obicit', pro 'et' (7) libens scriberem 'in' (i), cf. *de Benef.* p. 81 19: 'nec gratia in maius referri potest', *Ep.* p. 237 22: 'in tantum profecit', p. 424 20: 'quando oporteat et in quantum'. Pro 'his distorti' scribo 'uiliis distorti'.

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<sup>1</sup> p. 577 24: 'Si omnia propter curam mei facio, ante omnia est mei cura: haec animalibus inest cunctis nec inseritur, sed innascitur'.



## FURTHER NOTES ON LUCAN VIII.

(See p. 75.)

222 *sqq.*

In the proper punctuation of this passage I have been in part anticipated by Francken, who saw that the apodosis to the conditional clause was to be sought in 235-7. But, as the second edition of the Teubner text still keeps it in its primitive incoherence, I make no apology for dealing with it here. It should appear in something like the following form in order to be intelligible:

|                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| si uos, o Parthi, peterem cum Caspia claustra        |     |
| et sequer duros aeterni Martis Alanos,               |     |
| passus Achaemeniis late discurrere campis            |     |
| in tutam trepidos numquam Babylona coegi             | 225 |
| (arua super Cyri Chaldaeiue ultima regni,            |     |
| qua rapidus Ganges et qua Nysaeus Hydaspes           |     |
| accedunt pelago, Phoebi surgentis ab igne            |     |
| iam propior quam Persis eram ; tamen omnia uincens   |     |
| sustinui nostris uos tantum desse triumphis,         | 230 |
| solusque e numero regum telluris Eoae                |     |
| ex aequo me Parthus adit) nec munere Magni           |     |
| stant semel Arsacidae (quis enim post uolnera cladis |     |
| Assyriae iustas Latii compescuit iras?),             |     |
| tot meritis obstricta meis nunc Parthia ruptis       |     |
| excedat claustris uetitam per saecula ripam          | 235 |
| Zeugmaque Pellaeum.                                  |     |

The framework of the passage is in brief as follows: 'If, Parthians, on the occasion of my Eastern conquests I forbore to push you to extremities (222-225)—I had every temptation to do so; still I stopped in my conquering career and allowed your monarch to approach me as an equal (225-*adit* 232)—and if on a second occasion I saved your dynasty—for who else held Rome's hand after the defeat of Carrhae?—then let Parthia now perform her part of the compact.' One point in this re-arrangement calls for remark. At first sight it might seem an easier distribution to close the first parenthesis at *triumphis*, and thus to take 'solusque—adit' as a resumption of the *si* clause; but these words cohere so

closely with those immediately preceding, 'tamen—triumphis', that the attempt must be perforce abandoned.

The length of the sentence (over fifteen lines) may distress some of my readers. But it should be observed that its plan is already adumbrated in the conditional sentence just completed (218–221),<sup>1</sup> and that its length is far from unparalleled. In support of the proposition that 'the Romans had a control over the framework of language of which we have but a faint conception,'<sup>2</sup> I cited Horace *Epistles* i. 15. 1 *sqq.* as an example of a sentence 'which, with two parentheses of eleven and six lines respectively, extends over twenty-five hexameters without falling into anacoluthon.' A similar passage is *Satires* i. 8. 3–20, where lines 8–16 constitute a parenthesis in explanation of *nouis hortis* in line 7.<sup>3</sup> Another example is Propertius iii. 22. 5–17:

si te forte iuuant Helles Athamantidos urbes  
nec desiderio, Tulle, mouere meo,  
tu licet aspicias caelum omne Atlanta gerentem *etc.*  
et qua septenas temperat unda uias, 16  
omnia Romanae cedant miracula terrae,

that is 'If, Tullus, you are captivated by the beauties of the Hellespont and have no longings for my company, then let me tell you that, though you may see all the wonders of the world, there is no place like the land of Rome.' Another passage of Propertius involving a still greater strain on the attention is iii. 15. 1. 2, 43, 44, 3–10 which I have discussed in *Class. Rev.* xvi. (1902) 311 *sq.* Nor is the phenomenon confined to the writings of the poets that I have mentioned. In ii. 5. 19 Tibullus, as it would appear, starts to give a prediction of the Sibyl to Aeneas, but allows himself to digress into a description of pre-Roman Rome, and the hero is kept waiting till l. 39. And in Catullus 68. 51 *sqq.* the thought runs in and out in an elaborate pattern for some hundred lines.

401 *sqq.*

epulis uesana meròque  
regia non ullis exceptos legibus audet  
concubitus.

This passage has been discussed by Mr. Heitland *Class. Rev.* ix. (1895) p. 197. He there proposes to read either (a) 'non *illis* exceptos legibus' etc., rendering 'unions not barred by Parthian laws' though they are elsewhere or (b) 'non ullis *acceptos* legibus' 'unions not welcomed by any laws,' that is outside Parthia; and both these suggestions are mentioned in the footnote to the new Teubner edition. They were however rejected by Francken as being 'contra nexum . . . non erat demonstrandum quid *non auderet* sed quid auderet vesana libido.' Francken himself

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is the object of the semicolon at the end of 221 in Hosius' text, which otherwise I do not understand.

<sup>2</sup> Bréal's *Semantics*, English ed. Pref. p. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> See *Class. Rev.* xv. (1901) p. 306.



returned to the *horret* of V which in Hosius' first text had been, as I think, rightly displaced by the *audet* of other MSS. Mr. Heitland criticizes the tradition on the ground that 'ventures on unions barred by no laws' is 'poor sense, for what we want is words hinting that the practices of the Parthian king are revolting to mankind generally.' With this I quite agree. But *exceptus* is no synonym of *uetitus*, and it can convey a sense which, unlike that of *uetitus*, is perfectly intelligible and appropriate in this connexion. 'excepta lege' are things specially referred to in an enactment whether by way of exception, proviso, or stipulation. It is needless to illustrate its use for what is specially exempted from the operation of a statute; but its use for what is specially included therein is not less well attested. The Saguntines were specially mentioned in Hasdrubal's treaty with Rome, and so Livy writes xxi. 18. 9 'at enim eo foedere quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est Saguntini excipiuntur;' in the next chapter *exceptum* is the equivalent of *diserte additum* 3 § 'cum in Lutati foedere *diserte additum* esset "si populus censuisset," in Hasdrubalis foedere nec *exceptum* tale quicquam fuerit *e.g.s.*' In the decree of banishment against the Greeks the medical profession was specially mentioned, Pliny *N.H.* xxix. § 16 'traduntur, cum Graecos Italia pellerent diu etiam post Catonem *excepisse* medicos.' In Campania the vines grew so high that the vintager expressly stipulated in his contract for a proper funeral 'ut uindemiator auctoratus rogum ac tumulum *excipiat*' ib. xiv. § 10. So here. The marriages permitted by the Parthians are so monstrous that no legislator has prohibited them specially. The expression seems far-fetched until we remember an anecdote of a Greek lawgiver which was well known to the Romans. This lawgiver was Solon<sup>1</sup>, and the story purports to explain why there was no mention of the parricide in his code. It is given by Diogenes Laertius, i. 2. 10 as follows *ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί κατὰ πατροκτόνου νόμον οὐκ ἔθηκε, διὰ τὸ ἀπελπίσαι ἔφη*; and with more detail by Cicero *Sex. Rosc.* § 70 'is [Solon] cum interrogaretur cur nullum supplicium constituisset in eum qui parentem necasset, respondit *se id neminem facturum putasse*, sapienter fecisse dicitur cum de eo nihil sanxerit quod antea commissum non erat ne non tam prohibere quam admonere uideretur.'

663 *sqq.*

At Magni cum terga sonent et pectora ferro  
permansisse decus sacrae uenerabile formae  
*irataeque* deis faciem, nil ultima mortis  
ex habitu uoltuque uiri mutasse fatentur  
qui lacerum uidere caput.

On 665 Bentley wrote 'Lege CERTANTEMQUE DEIS, forma scilicet. Martialis ii. 43 grex tuus Italico poterat certare cinaedo. Par forma Ganymedi:' and Madvig *Adv.* ii. 132. 'Perversissime immota in morte venerabilis decoris et maiestatis facies *deis irata* dicitur. Scribendum videtur: *Aequatamque* deis

<sup>1</sup> I had forgotten the name of the lawgiver and was at a loss until Mr. W. Wyse kindly supplied it with these two sufficient references.



faciem.' The independent agreement (for such it seems to be) of Bentley and Madvig that the text is intolerable is not to be lightly set aside. And one has but to read with a little attention the whole description of Pompey's last words and moments only thirty lines behind our passage to realize how glaring is this inconsistency in a matter which for the poet was one of first importance. The only reference to the gods which that contains is 'spargant lacerentque | licebit, sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas | hoc auferre deo.' But neither *certainemque* nor *aequatamque* nor again *placatamque* which Francken proposed is palaeographically probable. I suggest *mirandamque*. I was pointed to this conjecture by the last words of Pompey's speech 'natus coniunxque peremptum | si mirantur amant.' Pompey in his last moments hopes that his wife and son may reverence his memory. This thought is picked up again in the present passage. His countenance in death is such as gods, and not merely his nearest relations, should revere. It is a device of Lucan's art in this eighth book to use phrases calculated to recall us of themselves to what has gone before, and much of his meaning is lost unless this be kept in mind. Thus 'Pompeio supplice' 346 glances back at the argument of 'supplice Varo' in 287, and 346 again is itself glanced at in 525-527. Once more, 712 sq. show us that Fortune has granted the prayer of Pompey in 315 sq. and has spared him the officious piety of Caesar. The corruption seems to have been due to loss or illegibility of the initial letter of the verse, *irandam* being then naturally made into *iratam*.

717.

ille per umbras

ausus ferre gradum uictum pietate timorem  
compulit ut mediis quaesitum corpus in undis  
duceret ad terram *traheretque in litora Magnum*.

It is strange that a verse with so much suspicious about it as v. 720 should have remained so long unsuspected. The singularity of the use of *duco* and *traho* for one and the same action I have noted in commenting on Tibullus i. 6. 80, a passage itself too dubious to lend the present one any support.<sup>1</sup> A more glaring fault in the clause in question is its sheer and unredeemed tautology, *traheret*=*duceret*, *in litora*=*ad terram*, and *Magnum*=*quaesitum corpus*. ὥσπερ γ' εἴ τις εἴποι γείτονι | χρήσον σὺ μάκτραν, εἰ δὲ βούλει κάρδοπον. Lastly the sentence is verbally identical with the end of verse 570, 'damnatum leto *traherent ad litora Magnum*.' Repetitions of words, singly or in groups, which distress our modern taste, are indisputably found in Lucan.<sup>2</sup> But it behoves those who desire to defend the repetition of these phrases to produce another instance as gross and as purposeless. As is well known, corruption in manuscripts is often induced by the partial similarity of one passage to another which is known to the scribe; as for example in Prop. ii. 30. 36 the Dauentriensis has 'rupibus *ingemuit*' for 'rupibus *accubuit*' because that is the ending of i. 1. 14. Suspicion then is thus riveted on *traheret*,

<sup>1</sup> *Selections from Tibullus and Others*, Critical Appendix, p. 212. Compare also p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Heitland, *Introduction*, pp. lxxxi, lxxxiii.



for which I would propose *reducem*. There is no resemblance between this and *traheret*, any more than there is between *accubuit* and *ingemuit*. Nor ought we to expect it. But there is another way which to some may be more plausible of accounting for the corruption. The partial assonance '*duceret*' '*reducem*' would not have troubled our author<sup>1</sup>, but it may well be responsible for an assimilation of '*reducem*' to '*reduceret*'; and if so, what method of setting the metre right was more obvious than to take *traheret* from 570? Difficulty may also have been caused by the sense of *reducem*, which is not immediately obvious, and which depends on our perception of a latent antithesis. Pompey is now not '*redux et uictor*' Ov. *Her.* 8. 103 nor is his portion with those who are regarded in the solemn prayer of Scipio '*saluos incolumesque uictis perduellibus uictores, spoliis decoratos, praeda onustos triumphantesque mecum domos reduces sistatis*' Livy xxix. 27. 2, nor with those again who are '*reduces in patriam ad parentes ad coniuges ac liberos*' (*id.* xxii. 60. 13). He is simply '*redux in litora*' just like any '*naufragus et eiectus*.'

The strained emphasis which Lucan throws on to single words has been noted by Mr. Heitland (*Introduction* p. lxxx). The eighth book abounds with instances. I will give two. Pompey is passing along one of the scenes of his former victories, and Lucan comments as follows (256 *sqq.*) '*crederet hoc Magnus, pacem cum praestitit undis | et sibi consultum? Cilicum per litora—tutus—parua puppe—fugit*,' i.e. he is perfectly safe, though in the midst of pirates, though he has only a small vessel with him, though he is in full flight. In 50 *sqq.* Lucan takes as his text the overwhelming reversal of Cornelia's hopes on her husband's return to Lesbos, '*En ratis ad uestros quae tendit carbasa portus | quid ferat ignoras, sed nunc tibi summa pauoris | nuntius armorum tristis rumorque sinister. | uictus—adest—coniunx*,' that is, it is not a simple check but a final defeat, it is not '*ingentis mali suspicio modo*' but its '*aperta species*' that '*obuersatur ante oculos*' (Livy ii. 59.5), not a mere '*nuntius*' but your wretched husband himself.

769.

Fortuna recursus

si det in Hesperiam, non hac in sede quiescent  
tam sacri cineres, sed te Cornelia, Magne,  
accipiet *nostraque manu* transfundet in urnam.

The English commentator writes on 770 '*nostra manu*' 'by the help of my hand', equivalent to '*nostra ope*' and the Dutch '*sancte promittit Cordus quid ipse sit facturus (quiescent, accipiet) cum quo melius nostra convenit=mea ope.*' These are the explanations of the Scholiasts '*accipiet Cornelia et hoc mea manu faciet*,' '*manu me ministro.*' They did not satisfy Kortte, Bentley, or Bothe, who proposed *castaque*, *propriaque* and *maestamque* respectively. The ground of their dissatisfaction is clear; for if a hand (*manu*) be connected with the performance of an action, it must be the hand of the person performing the action. The failure of their attempted corrections is no less obvious. They all attack the wrong word.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 462 '*inde maris uasti transuerso uertitur aestu*' and compare Heitland, *op. cit.* p. xcvi.



*nostra*, as Francken saw, is genuine and indeed indispensable, since Cordus must indicate what *he* will do if Providence permits him to return to Italy. The first part of *trans-fundet* points to a transfer of the remains from one receptacle to another, and the second part of the compound can be constructed with an ablative of 'the place whence' without, as well as with, a preposition. Compare e.g. Ovid *Ars* 1. 287 'lacrimis quas *arbore* fundit *odora*' and *Met.* 9. 161 'uinaque marmoreus *patera* fundebat in aras' with Horace, *C.* i. 31. 2 'quid orat *de patera* nouom | fundens liquorem?' The second of the two receptacles is the *urna*: the first can be nothing but the *sinus* of Cordus, who brings back the ashes of his general as Agrippina brought back the ashes of her husband, Tacitus *Annals* 2. 75 'At Agrippina . . . ascendit classem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis, miserantibus cunctis quod . . . feralis reliquias *sinu* ferret': cf. Prop. i. 17. 12 'ossaue nulla *tuo* nostra tenere *sinu*.' But we need not travel outside this book for a conclusive parallel. See 835 *sqq.*

tu quoque cum saeuo dederis iam templa tyranno  
nondum Pompei cineres, o Roma, petisti;  
exul adhuc iacet umbra ducis. si saecula prima  
uictoris timuere minas, nunc *excipe* saltem  
ossa tui Magni, si nondum subruta fluctu  
inuisa tellure sedent. quis busta timebit,<sup>1</sup>  
quis sacris dignam mouisse uerebitur umbram?  
imperet hoc utinam nobis scelus et uelit uti  
*nostro* Roma *sinu*.

But why, it will be asked, should *nostroque sinu* have been changed to *nostra-que manu*? The answer is ready. *Manu* in 770 has come from *manu* in 767, three lines above, where it stood immediately over *sinu*.

795 *sqq.*

temeraria dextra,  
cur obicis Magno tumulum manesque uagantis  
includis?—situs est qua terra extrema refuso  
pendet in Oceano: Romanum nomen et omne  
imperium Magno tumuli est modus—obruere saxa  
crimine plena deum. si tota est Herculis Oete 800  
et iuga tota uacant Bromio Nyseia, quare  
unus in Aegypto est Magni lapis? omnia Lagi  
rura tenere potest.

Whether the words at the end of 799 have been generally understood by editors and translators of Lucan, I do not know. With some at least this is certainly not the case. Thus Weise explains 'destrue hoc saxum', and Mr. Justice Ridley translates 'Blot out this stone.' And the current punctuations darken rather than

<sup>1</sup> So, not 'busta timebit?', should we punctuate with Francken.



illuminate the meaning of the author. I have given above the words in a punctuation which is not indeed ideal—modern punctuation of Latin authors must often fall short of that—but which I conceive will make the author's meaning clearer than before.

The *obruere* of v. 799 is addressed to the *temeraria dextra* of 795, and its point is briefly this 'Why bury *Pompey*? (his grave is provided): *bury the stone*.' This absolute use of *obruere* is not unknown to the lexicographers. I quote in full the passage from Festus s. u. *statua*: 'statua est Ludii eius qui quondam fulmine ictus in Circo *sepultus est* in Ianiculo cuius ossa postea ex prodigiis oraculorumque responsis senatus decreto intra urbem relata in Volcanali quod est supra Comitium *obruta sunt* superque ea columna cum ipsius effigie posita est.' The word is not indeed synonymous with *sepelire* and may be used where *sepelire* is out of place. Whatever was done with the bodies of the ringleaders of the mutiny against Blaesus, Tacitus *Annals* i. 29, they were certainly not *sepulti*: 'tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis *obrutos*, alii corpora *extra uallum abiecta* ostentui'. The perception of this sense adds point to the complaint of Achilles' ghost in Ovid *Met.* 13. 445 *sq.*

'immemores'que 'mei disceditis' inquit 'Achiui'  
*obrutaque est mecum uirtutis gratia nostrae?*

for the thought in which we may compare Livy ii. 55. 2 'cum Genucio una mortuam ac *sepultam* tribuniciam potestatem.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

## CAESAR AT THE RUBICON.

THE first few chapters of Caesar's *Bellum Civile* are notoriously untrustworthy. Much has been done by Nissen,<sup>1</sup> Schmidt<sup>2</sup> and others towards re-telling the story more truthfully, but our accounts are not yet fully satisfactory. Caesar's statement<sup>3</sup> that he met the tribunes only after crossing the Rubicon is at first sight startling and does not accord with the story as told by Plutarch<sup>4</sup> and Appian<sup>5</sup>; for both of these historians make much of the fact that Caesar exhibited the tribunes upon their arrival to his army, thus stirring the soldiers to action. Plutarch and Appian are evidently following Pollio,<sup>6</sup> who was with Caesar on the day of crossing: they ought therefore to furnish testimony of some weight. Suetonius<sup>7</sup> makes no direct statement about the matter, but the order of events as given by him seems to place him in agreement with the statement of the *Bellum Civile*. We have therefore Pollio, Plutarch (twice), and Appian against the words of the *Bellum Civile* and Suetonius; or, more simply, Pollio against Caesar, both of whom were eye-witnesses of what occurred that day. Pollio,<sup>8</sup> moreover, is the critic who questions the veracity of these very commentaries. Our acceptance of one side or the other can, therefore, hardly depend upon preponderance of authority. It will be a question of probability and probability I think we shall find resting with Plutarch and Appian. The only objection against adopting this conclusion at once, is that it seems to assume that Caesar has falsified to his own disadvantage. Why should Caesar, who pleads and apologizes, suppresses and falsifies so skilfully throughout these chapters, make his own case worse than it actually was by stating that he had begun the civil war before the tribunes offered him a plausible excuse? The explanation, I believe, lies in the assumption that Antony, who was one of the tribunes in question, and who after Caesar's death probably had Caesar's manuscript in his possession, inserted the troublesome words: '*ibique tribunos plebis . . . convenit.*' I believe (1) with Plutarch and Appian, that the

<sup>1</sup> In *Syb. Hist. Zeit.*, N. F. x. pp. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic. Briefwechsel.*

<sup>3</sup> *B.C.* ch. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Plut. Caes.* 31-2; *Ant.* 5 (Schmidt's statement in the footnote of p. 105 cites Plutarch incorrectly).

<sup>5</sup> Appian ii. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Plut. Caes.* 32 πολλά δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς

παρουσιν ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος συνδιήγορησεν. Appian tells practically the same story as Plutarch regarding Caesar's hesitation at the Rubicon.

<sup>7</sup> *Suet. Jul.* 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Suet. Jul.* 56, Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat, etc.



tribunes came to Ravenna; and (2) that Antony finding it so stated in Caesar's manuscript, changed it. Let us discuss the second point first.

Scholars, basing their arguments upon Pollio's criticism and upon the actual condition of the commentaries, are well-nigh agreed that the MS. of the *Bellum Civile* was not published till after Caesar's death. If so, it probably fell into Antony's<sup>1</sup> hand with the other papers of Caesar. Antony, who took such liberties in changing the other papers and in forging new ones, would hardly permit the publication of any statement in the *Bellum Civile* that would prove derogatory to himself. During this very time Cicero<sup>2</sup> was abusing him as the cause of the civil war, for by making his theatrical escape to Caesar he had furnished his master a fair excuse for invading Italy. It was an easy matter for Antony to make Caesar's own book refute Cicero, to publish the *Bellum Civile* with a statement that the tribunes arrived only after Caesar had taken the most daring step. There is therefore nothing unreasonable in the assumption.

Let us then examine the probabilities of the main question. It is now usually believed that Caesar crossed the Rubicon on the night of January the tenth.<sup>3</sup> It could not have been difficult for Antony and Curio to reach Ravenna by the morning of that day, if we may judge from<sup>4</sup> previous rapid journeys over the same road. Again the probability that Antony came to Ravenna is strengthened by the fact that the five cohorts over which he was placed marched from Ravenna<sup>5</sup> and not from Ariminum as Caesar implies, and must have set out on the tenth. The strongest argument however lies in the unanimous testimony that Caesar addressed his soldiers at the beginning of his campaign, and that the speech as given would have little excuse or point unless made at Ravenna and in the presence of the tribunes.

It must be evident to all that Caesar is not ready to meet Pompey at once. He has but one legion with him and had but very recently sent for reinforcements stationed some six hundred miles away. These and the new Gallic levy could not arrive within a month at least. Pompey had some four legions at hand and the garrisons of Italy. In fact, even after his startling invasion, Caesar dallies for three weeks<sup>6</sup> near the northern boundary, until, in fact, the twelfth legion arrives. This is indication enough that he was taken unawares and that he crossed the boundary on a sudden decision before he was prepared to advance. What

<sup>1</sup> App. ii. 125 τὰ χρήματα . . . καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀρχῆς; Vell. Pat. 2. 60. 4 commentariis; Plut. Ant. 15 ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ Καίσαρος.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Phil. ii. 53 Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti; 55 Vt Helena Troianis, sic iste huic rei publicae causa pestis, quoted by Plut. Ant. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nissen and Schmidt. This is probably true, though scholars have been too ready to base all their chronology of this period upon a casual statement made by Cicero almost two weeks later. (Fam. xvi. 12. 2.)

<sup>4</sup> Curio had made it in three days, and Roscius asked for only six days to make the journey, discuss the proposed terms with Caesar, and return to the senate. B. C. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *Briefw.* p. 105 f.n. end; Drumann-Groebe iii. p. 386 f.n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Caesar would have us believe that he is spending this time peacefully at Ariminum in deference to the peace negotiations. This is not quite true. Miss Peaks, *Class. Rev.* 1904, p. 346, makes it clear that Caesar employs the time in strengthening his position.

made him take this sudden step was the arrival at camp of the disguised and much-offended tribunes. He suddenly saw in their apparent dishonour a pretext for the daring move, and, though not yet ready, he felt that he could not afford to let so fair a chance slip. Even assuming as some do that the tribunes stopped at Ariminum and that Caesar was notified of their plight by special messengers, we have to face even more questions: why should Caesar have been in such haste to cross a day before he could make the best of his exhibit when he knew he must move slowly for several weeks to come? Or what would be the point of haranguing the soldiers after the vital step was taken? Or what would be the use of exhibiting the tattered tribunes on the day after the invasion, after they had been resting at Ariminum for a day in safety? These are my reasons for adopting the account of Plutarch and Appian and for attributing to Antony the phrase in the *Bellum Civile* which contradicts their statements.

TENNEY FRANK.

*Bryn Mawr.*



## ON THE COSTUME OF THE GREEK TRAGIC ACTOR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

'IN forming our estimate of tragedy, let us first consider its externals—the hideous appalling spectacle that the actor presents. His high boots raise him out of all proportion, his head is hidden under an enormous mask; his huge mouth gapes upon the audience as if he would swallow them; to say nothing of the chest-pads and stomach-pads with which he contrives to give himself an artificial corpulence lest his deficiency in this respect should emphasize his disproportionate height.'<sup>1</sup>

These words of Lucian, written at least 150 years after Christ, have been accepted by most modern writers on the Greek drama as a substantially accurate description of the tragic actor even in the time of Aeschylus and Sophocles. This is due, no doubt, to the virtual unanimity among late writers in naming Aeschylus as the inventor of all or most of the features of the tragic costume, such as painted and awe-inspiring masks, high-soled boots and garments of great magnificence and stateliness.<sup>2</sup>

'So successful and appropriate were his innovations,' we are told, 'that the tragic dress, as designed by him, continued without intermission for nearly eight hundred years to be the conventional costume of the Greek theatre.'<sup>3</sup>

The evidence for the use of the mask in the fifth century B.C. is, happily, abundant and convincing; for the high-soled boot, however, there is no such evidence, as has been made clear recently in an admirable discussion of the subject by Mr. Kendall K. Smith.<sup>4</sup> After an exhaustive examination of the evidence to be gathered from literature and art, both contemporary and later, Mr. Smith sums up the results thus: 'We have found that this boot is first represented in art at the close of the second century B.C. and then appears as a symbol of tragedy, that it is first mentioned in literature of the Imperial period, and that its use in this period is certain. We cannot be so positive with regard to the Hellenistic period, but the literature that we have knows no name for such a boot. For the fifth and fourth centuries we have more than a plausible argument against the use of such a boot. The literature of the period has no name for any special tragic boot; the drama is full of lively action which the six-inch and higher sole we are asked to believe in almost precludes; the art of the period never pictures it either as a symbol of tragedy with the mask or as the footwear of actors, and the most positive piece of evidence on either side of the question, the Piraeus Relief, represents actors with

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *Περὶ Ὀρχ.* 27 (trans. of F. G. Fowler), compare also *Zeὺς Τραγ.* 41, τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας καὶ τοὺς ποδήρεις χιτῶνας καὶ χλαμύδας καὶ χειρῖδας καὶ προγαστρίδια καὶ σωματῖα καὶ τᾶλλα, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι σεμνύνουσι τὴν τραγῳδίαν, ὅπερ γελοιότατον οἶμαι.

<sup>2</sup> *Hor. Ars. Poet.* 278; Suidas, *Ἀλσχύλος*; Athen.

21 E; Philostr., *Apoll. Tyan.* vi. 11; *Vita Aeschyli.*

<sup>3</sup> Haigh, *Trag. Drama of the Greeks*, p. 68, so also Müller, *Gr. Bühnenalt.* S. 229.

<sup>4</sup> The use of the high-soled shoe or buskin in Greek tragedy of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* xvi. (1905), pp. 123 sqq.



natural, ordinary boots.<sup>1</sup> On the ground of this evidence the writer concludes that 'the high sole was the invention of centuries after the classical period.'

In contrast with the theory of Prof. Robert, upheld by the dubious support of four or five hypotheses,<sup>2</sup> that the Greek tragic actors employed high-soled boots in the fifth century, discarded them during the fourth century, and restored them to use again later, the conclusion reached by Mr. Smith is irresistible,<sup>3</sup> and one grants ready acquiescence to his words when he writes: 'Who, when he thinks of the majestic simplicity of Aeschylus and the sweet beauty of Sophocles, does not feel a shrinking in his heart at the thought of their being represented by such hideous disproportionate, padded creatures as these of Robert's picture, and turn with relief and contentment to the beautiful, simple dress of the three actors on the Piraeus Relief!'<sup>4</sup>

But one wishes that Mr. Smith had treated this last point more fully and had stated with greater clearness the corollaries that follow his conclusion. The first of these is that, if the high-soled boots were not worn in the classical period, neither did the tragic actor pad his body in the manner and for the purpose stated by Lucian, and as shown in the familiar ivory statuette, of late date, found near Rieti.<sup>5</sup>

Haigh (*Gr. Theatre*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 268, 272, 280), Jevons (Gard. and Jevons, *Man. Grk. Antiq.*, p. 698), Müller (*Gr. Bühn.* S. 230), Oehmichen (*Das Bühnenwes.* S. 255), Navarre (*Dionysos*, p. 169), Opitz (*Schauspiel u. Theaterwes.* 194), and others<sup>6</sup> meekly accept the description of Lucian, and cite as additional evidence the statements of Photius, *σωματεῖα τὰ ἀναπλάσματα οἷς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ διασάττουσιν αὐτούς· οὕτως Πλάτων*, and of Pollux. iv. 115: *καὶ σκευὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, στολή. ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ σωματίον ἐκαλεῖτο*. Unfortunately, however, neither of these statements proves anything for tragedy. Indeed the reference to Plato suggests comedy, rather. In any case, they prove nothing for the fifth century B.C.

What a ridiculous spectacle Agamemnon would have presented after the removal of his high-soled buskins,<sup>7</sup> if in the manner of Lucian's actor his figure had been padded out with stomachers and chest-pads, *ὥς μὴ τοῦ μήκους ἡ ἀρρυθμία ἐν λεπτῷ μᾶλλον ἐλέγχοιτο*!

Lucian would have held his sides for laughter at the incongruous transformation; quite as certainly, we may believe, would Phidias and Pericles have

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 163 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Based upon a plaque-painting from Herculaneum; see *Hallisches Winkelmannsprog.* 22, p. 14 sqq. The painting is published also by Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.* Pl. XI. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The objections offered by Mr. H. Richards, *Class. Rev.* Mar. 1906, pp. 129 f., are not really cogent.

<sup>4</sup> *Harv. Stud.* xvi. p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Published in *Mon. Ined.* xi. 13; Haigh, *Gr. Theatre*,<sup>2</sup> p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> Bethe (*Proleg. z. Gesch. d. Theat.* S. 320 sqq.) believes that the high-soled buskin was used in the fifth century; but one cannot follow him when he

says: 'aber unangenehm auffallen konnten diese hohen Schuhe schwerlich, da die Zuschauer ihre Blicke auf Kopf und Arme, nicht auf die Beine richten.' High soles imply a padded figure.

<sup>7</sup> Aesch. *Agam.* 944 sqq. I agree with Mr. Smith (*Harv. Stud.* xvi. p. 142) who says with reference to Professor Robert's hypothesis 'that there was here only a show of taking off the shoes, and that they were kept on in reality. This hypothesis is not the natural one: it is rather the result of prejudgment of the point at issue. To one not concerned about the tragic boot the lines would certainly mean that the shoes came off; and if they came off, they could not have been high-soled.'



exclaimed in horror and derision at the sight. Yet we are asked to believe that 'however unwieldy and unnatural it [a costume like that described by Lucian] may have appeared on a closer inspection, its magnificence and dignity were especially appropriate to the ideal figures which move in the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles'<sup>1</sup> and this even more absurd statement that 'the bolsters and pads were worn by tragic actors to lend dignity to their persons and were worn by comic actors for precisely the opposite purpose'<sup>2</sup>

The monuments of contemporary art, furthermore, such as the Piraeus Relief<sup>3</sup> and the Andromeda crater,<sup>4</sup> would never of themselves have suggested anything so artificial.

The second corollary follows naturally: that if the actor was not raised on high-soled buskins, nor his bulk increased by padding 'to prevent his seeming thin in comparison with his height'<sup>5</sup> neither was his mask provided with an enormous onkos as in the days of the Empire (*πρόσωπον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀνατεινόμενον*, Luc. *περὶ Ὀρχ.* 27). It is inconceivable that the refined aesthetic sense of the Athenian of the days of Calamis and Phidias would have permitted any such monstrosity on the tragic stage, though doubtless this was common enough in comedy, as is made clear by a glance at the two statuettes of the fifth or early fourth century, representing comic actors,<sup>6</sup> and especially the vase painting of the early fourth century showing three comic actors holding their masks, one of which is of enormous size.<sup>7</sup> The masks depicted on the Piraeus Relief, on the other hand, are small and of beautiful proportions.

One marvels at the persistence and prevalence of the belief, that the selfsame Greeks to whom the world stands indebted 'for the simple beauty, the sanity, the healthfulness of the ideal element'<sup>8</sup> of their art—that these same Greeks could have tolerated, much less created such ungainly figures as those of the Rieti statuette and the plaque from Herculaneum. The spirit of the fifth century was that of simplicity, directness, refinement, as typified by the Apollo of the west pediment on the temple of Zeus at Olympia or the charming grave relief of Dexileos. Lucian's tragic actor, like that of the Rieti statuette, belongs, rather, to the tasteless age that saw in exaggeration a suitable expression of the imposing and the superhuman, as in the case of the Farnese Heracles by Glycon.

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Nov. 19, 1906.

<sup>1</sup> Haigh, *Gr. Theatre*<sup>2</sup> p. 284. Usually explained also as due to the vast size of the theatre; but we have no evidence that the theatre in the fifth century was so large.

<sup>2</sup> Jevons, *Man. of Gr. Antiq.* p. 699.

<sup>3</sup> *Athen. Mitt.* vii. Pl. XIV; also Haigh, *Gr. Th.*<sup>2</sup> p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrb. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1896, S. 292, p. 2

and Engelmann, *Arch.-Stud. z. Trag.* Fig. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Haigh, *Gr. Th.*<sup>2</sup> p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 290; also *Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst.* 1893, S. 78, 80.

<sup>7</sup> *Compte Rendu de la Com. Imp. Arch.* 1870-1871, Pl. IV. 1; also Haigh, *Gr. Theatre*<sup>2</sup> p. 289.

<sup>8</sup> P. Gardner, *Gram. of Gk. Art*, p. 18.



## VATTASSO'S UNCIAL FRAGMENTS OF LIVY.

(LIB. XXXIV. CC. 36 § 6 'NON INRITA'—40 § 2 'RVRSVS ORATOREM.')

*Frammenti d'un Livio del v secolo, recentemente scoperti.* Codice Vaticano Latino 10696. Edited by Mons. MARCO VATTASSO. Roma: Tipografia Vaticana. (Studi e Testi, 18) MDCCCXVI. Large 4to. Pp. 18. 3 Phototype Plates.

ALL students of Livy's text and of palaeography in general will be grateful to Mons. Marco Vattasso for this excellent publication with its beautiful full-sized reproductions of these fifth century fragments and its complete critical and exegetical commentary.

The fragments are seven in number and were used as wrappings for relics<sup>1</sup> from the Holy Land (as the eighth century writing on them shows) and put together form 1½ fol. of the last 2 fols. of Quat. xv. or 6 cols., so that c. 39.2 *tuebatur miles* to c. 39.11 *modo frag* is lost. And, as Mons. Vattasso says, for the width of the margins and the wonderful condition of the parchment and writing they are perhaps the finest of the ancient folia known to us;<sup>2</sup> so they are an important addition to our early fragments of Livy and our uncials.

The text too, though naturally not very important, has a value in itself which the editor rightly insists upon; and I will take the points separately:

(1) the noteworthy readings are *priorum* for *iratorum* (36.6), *ait* for *pronuntia* (37.5); and two others which Mons. Vattasso calls good viz. *ubi* for *ibi* 37.3 (but the lost cod. Mogunt. had *ubi*) and *inbos* (=inpos) for *inops* 38.7 (but surely *inpos* is not tolerable in Livy especially as he has *consilii inops* so often). I may add to these *arcesserent* (38.1) for *accerserent* of edd. and cdd., except Agenensis<sup>3</sup> (B.M. 'Harl. 2493'), which has the neutral *accesserent*.

So far then as these fragments go, they tend to show once more how trustworthy in the main our MSS. are, just as the Verona palimpsest has not damaged the credit of the earliest MSS. of the first decade.

(2) More important however than these readings are the lessons to be learnt from the fragments. On these lessons the editor very rightly and very wisely insists. The fragments he says 'non cessano di avere grande importanza, siccome quelli che servono a chiarire sempre meglio la strada che dovrà tenere il futuro editore' of the fourth decade; in short, he must notice how R (=these Roman fragments) hold the balance between B(ambergensis) with  $\phi$  (=the Placentine tradition) on

<sup>1</sup> E.g. 'Terra de flumen Iurdannis.' 'Spunna Dñi.

8½ ins., 30 lines in col., 14 to 22 letters in line.

<sup>2</sup> Parchment 13 ins. × 11 ins., col. 8 ins. × 3 ins., width across the 2 cols. (with margin between them)

<sup>3</sup> With this MS. I have collated the Roman fragments.



the one side and M(oguntinus) with the ed. Mogunt. on the other side ; and he must judge accordingly in other places as wisely as he can ; also he must not give undue attention to B where it is not supported by the rest of  $\phi$  as represented in the codices recentiores. And here Mons. Vattasso gives the same advice as Mommsen gave (and partly acted on) when the Spirensian fragments of the third decade were discovered, that the true tradition must be found by collation of the surviving MSS. ; *i.e.* the Placentine tradition to support B *versus* M in the fourth decade, and the Spirensian tradition<sup>1</sup> to put a check upon Puteanus in the third decade.

The chief points where the Roman fragments affect the balance are these :

(a) R B (+cdd. rec.) *versus* M or ed. Mogunt.

*Circulos* (c. 37. 1.) not *in circulis* ; *subito ad arma* (c. 37. 1) not *ad arma subito* ; *excursio l.* (37. 6) not *l. excursio*.

(b) R M<sup>2</sup> *versus* B+cdd. rec.

*tyrannis* (c. 36. 7) not *tyranno* ; *commissa* (c. 37. 7) not *emissa* ; *difficiliora* (c. 38. 2) not *difficilia* ; *laboraret* (c. 38. 6) not *laborabat* ; and I may add here the *ubi* (c. 37. 3) for *ibi* and *respondere et* (37. 4) for *responderi* B and *respondere* Agenensis and ed. Mogunt.

(c) for instances of R M<sup>5</sup> + cdd. rec. *versus* B, amongst the editor's choices are *clamore sublato* in c. 38. 4 (R has *sublatu*) not *sublato clamore* ; *impetus* (c. 39. 12) not *impetum* ; *redierunt in castra* (c. 39. 13) not *in c. redierunt* ; and to these I would add *nullum esse* (c. 36. 7) not *nullum*, in all which Zingerle has followed B ; and *et Romanis* (c. 37. 6), where B has *qui et R.* out of which Weissenborn made *quietis R.* and Koch *Quinctio et R* !

In spelling, the fragments are except in proper names sound ; also in the interlinear division of syllables ; in which matters they remind me much of Thuaneus (tenth century) in the first decade, especially T<sup>2</sup> for the divisions.

The few misprints etc. that I have noticed are these : on p. 12 note to 14-15 read *Anthiochum*, così R ; p. 13 line 6 read FUGIENTIUM (the phot. shows the *I*) ; on p. 14 note on 16-17 read *clamore* for *timore* and, as really only *de* has got in before *undique*, read *clamore sublato subire de undique* or run the words together, and on p. 18, side-note on 25. 26 (where R curiously has *intersepiendoq* with cdd. rec.) is *quaedam* wanted or does B omit it ? Finally on p. 15 I could wish that Mons. Vattasso had not so incautiously said of *inpos* 'è da preferirsi a *inops*' nor am I sure that he is right in saying 'non bene' of R M's *laboraret* (c. 38), where the frequentative subj. is undoubtedly Livian and is euphonious against the other indicative imperfects ; but perhaps Livy here wrote *laborarat*.

W. C. F. WALTERS.

<sup>1</sup> I agree with Mommsen that the British Museum MSS, Burn. 198 and Harl. 2781 and some marg. notes in Harl. 2493 (Agenensis) are Spirensian ; but Harl. 2684 is Drakenborch's Harl. and does not seem

Spirensian.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of brevity M here = cd M. or ed. Mogunt.



## LINDBLOM ON SILIUS ITALICVS.

*In Silii Italici Punica Quaestiones* scripsit A. T. LINDBLOM. Upsaliae MCMVI.

THE first part of this little book gives an account of Silius' use of moods and tenses, the second deals with textual criticism. I turned to the former with some hope and much fear. A series of careful studies of the grammar of the Silver writers is much needed, and till we get these it is futile to admit the vision of a satisfactory Grammar of Silver Latin to our most sanguine reveries. Of dissertations on the grammar and *genus dicendi* of Silver writers, there is indeed no dearth, but the diligence and grammatical instinct necessary for success seem rare enough. The more heartily do I congratulate Dr. Lindblom on the thoroughness with which he has done his work and the clearness and good sense with which he writes. Only one thing is lacking—a good index. Divergencies of opinion easily arise on grammatical points—*e.g.* the assigning of forms in *-erit* to Indicative or Subjunctive, the classifying of certain relational subjunctives;—a good index unites all differences. In the present work it would have been especially valuable in view of the mass of information as to Silius' language which lies scattered about in notes and texts, a veritable treasure for critical and other purposes: *e.g.*, the information as to the indefinite use of *quicumque* on p. 57, the frequency of *quā*s (p. 58 n.), the non-occurrence in Silius of *quia* and *etsi* (pp. 87, 111), the various uses of *quin* (p. 119), etc. However, the appreciative reader will make his own index, and thank Dr. Lindblom for what he has got.

When preparing my edition of Silius I made a careful study of Silian language, so that I can testify to the extraordinary diligence shown in this book. Only a very few points have escaped the author's notice; on only a very few would one wish any alteration in the form of statement. All the examples of a historic present in relative sentences given on p. 7 admit of the explanation that the reference is as much to the present as to the past: passages like 9. 171, 17. 322 should have been quoted. Sometimes the present represents a pluperfect (cp. p. 8): so in 2. 142

adrep̄toque auide quo concidis, Icare, saxo . . .  
uastae se culmine turris  
praecipitem iacit.

On p. 24, add 7. 115 as an example of *faxo* with the subjunctive directly depending. Among the relative subjunctives (pp. 58 *sqq.*) I miss 13. 116 *quae*



*candore niuem, candore anteiret olores.* In 15. 509 (p. 65) *qui* is certainly *consecutive*, as the author seems to suspect in his note. On the other hand I should reckon as causal 12. 43:

cautae mentis consulta probabat  
euentu qui post Dauni stagnantia regna  
sanguine Tarpeias ire abstinuisset ad arces.

Dr. L. classes this as 'oblique,' and so it is doubtless in part, but even in Or. Rect. *qui* would naturally take a subjunctive here. On p. 80 four exx. of *dum* with the present subjunctive are given, and on p. 82 is given another (17. 513), which is explained as due to Or. Obl., and put accordingly under a separate rubric. But three of the four on p. 80 are undoubted cases of *dum* in Or. Obl., and in the fourth, 2. 39 (*ardor agit, . . . queat dum cernere muros, . . . Martem exercere*), the explanation is quite similar: all five cases seem to me to hang together. P. 86. *Priusquam* with subjunctive: add 17. 610. P. 88. Conditional sentences with present indicative in protasis: I miss 4. 420-1:

magnanimi me, nate, uiri ni bella capessis  
haud dubie extremus, terret labor.

The apodosis is of course *haud dubie extremus*, as I have endeavoured to show by the punctuation. The examples under 4) on this same page are very disparate. In most of them (e.g. 5. 97: *si bellum ducere cordi est | interea . . . aderit Seruilius*) the present is logical enough, and carries with it no future force. Not so in 9. 61 *sqq.*:

sistis ni crastina signa  
firmabis nostro Phoebeae dicta Sibyllae  
sanguine

and *ib.* 476; 11. 118; 15. 40, 554, 781. Again, on p. 97 (2), two distinct cases seem to be classified together. In the first, 15. 538, we have an optative subjunctive in the apodosis, with perfect subjunctive in protasis. I certainly know of no parallel in Silius, and should imagine the construction to be very rare in general. In 16. 695 *sqq.*, however, where we have a similar optative in the apodosis, *audierit* of the protasis may very well be future perfect: the combination of this tense with an apodosis denoting a wish or command is natural enough and common (cp. e.g. Sil. 1. 107, 8. 325). The exx. of *quo* final on p. 115 are all quite normal: Dr. L. omits 7. 334, 13. 107, where there is no accompanying comparative.

The critical section is less important. About 30 passages are handled: in most cases it is simply a matter of defending the text or an emendation already proposed. In 10. 176 *antiqua tonantem | nomina* is suggested (for *tumentem*) and in 16. 660 *rettulit aurēā | signa* (for *auri*). In one passage Dr. L.'s defence of the MSS. betrays some lack of precision, and as I have not had an opportunity of dealing with the passage elsewhere, I am glad to take it here.

Mox profugi ducente Noto aduertere coloni,  
 Insula quos genuit Graio circumflua ponto  
 Atque auxit quondam Laertia regna Zacynthos. (i. 290)

Dr. L. and most editors think we have here simply a case of the evolution of a demonstrative from a relative pronoun. This is common enough, and Dr. L. quotes an example from Sil. himself. But a simple translation will show how differently the matter stands here. 'Soon exiles came and settled here, *men whom* an isle of the Grecian sea did bear, *an island which* once enriched Laertes' realm.' I want an example of the evolution of a feminine singular demonstrative from a masculine plural relative before I can be persuaded to reject Müller's *et quae* for the *atque* of the MSS. Will Dr. Lindblom excuse me if I reply here to a suggestion of his on p. 133? Rupert's proposal to read *summa* in 14. 538 by no means escaped me, witness an emphatic mark of exclamation in my copy of his edition. The lengthening of the short final vowel seems to me very improbable in Silius. It is certainly flattering to have an emendation of one's own quoted as evidence of the possibility of such a license, but I must point out that there is much difference between my proposal to lengthen *ā* final before *scrutantem* in 7. 273 and Rupert's to lengthen it before *traxit* here. A better and textually certain parallel would be 7. 618 *Syllaeque Crassique*; but as *que* has special privileges in these cases, even this is of little use. I still adhere to Bauer's correction.

The book is carefully printed, but *luerim* on p. 22 should, I think, be *locarim*, the reference being presumably to 9. 530 cited on p. 18. This being so, Dr. Lindblom will, I hope, readily believe that it was not I, but the printer, who read *semina* for *semita* in 15. 147. 'Quo iure et qua ratione ductus,' *uiderit ipse*.

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## COMMENTATIONES PHILOLOGAE IENENSES.

*Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses.* Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1906. Vol. vii. fasc. 2. 8vo. Pp. 201.

THIS 'fasciculus' contains three dissertations by Jena professors: Prof. Paul Crain writes 'de ratione quae inter Platonis *Phaedrum* *Symposium*que intercedat'; Prof. P. Karl, 'de Placidi glossis'; Prof. E. Merten, 'de bello Persico ab Anastasio gesto.' Being more nearly interested myself in Plato than in Placidus or Anastasius, I must pray to be excused if I devote this notice mainly to the dissertation of Prof. Crain.

In his 'praefatio' he tells us that some men would fain have us believe that the 'platonian question' is already settled. If this were true the occupation of many of our most esteemed doctors, and of Prof. Crain amongst their number, would be gone; but fortunately the truth of the statement is by no means universally admitted—'plurimi doctissimique viri vehementer negant.' There is still a free field, and no favour, open to every dissertator who has a new solution to advance. Hence Prof. Crain cannot be accused of transgressing the ordinance *μὴ κινεῖν ὃ κείμενον*.

Prof. Crain, as his title indicates, confines himself to one particular point of the vast and multiform question. He institutes a comparison as regards both 'ratio poetica' and 'ratio philologa' between the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium* with the object of determining which is prior in point of date. His general conclusion is that the *Phaedrus* is the earlier by a few years and to be dated circ. 390–85 B.C., while for the *Symposium* he accepts the common view which puts it shortly after 385, on the strength of the allusion to the *διοικισμός* of Mantinea. For my own part, I am inclined to think that this order is the right one, and that the dates are about as near as one can get. It must be confessed, however, that a good many of the grounds upon which Prof. Crain bases his conclusion are, taken singly, lacking in solidity. Thus, when it is stated that the leading part played by *Phaedrus* in the *Symposium* 'facilius intelligitur ab illo qui ante cognoverit *Phaedrum* dialogum, contra in hoc nihil est quod non satis per se intellegi possit' (p. 9), we cannot help feeling that this is but a slender prop for our argument. But, of course, the conclusion rests not upon one but upon many props, whose combined strength it is that must be estimated; and it would be unfair to isolate and condemn any given one as insufficient of itself to bear the whole weight of the conclusion. Taken



all together, the arguments in favour of Prof. Crain's view are, to my mind, more strong and solid than those which support the opposite order of dating. The most important section of his argumentation is that in which he compares the doctrines of ἔρως in the two dialogues. He endeavours, successfully as I think, to show that the exposition of the origin, nature, and object of ἔρως in the *Symposium* is fuller, more closely-reasoned, and more mature than the exposition in the *Phaedrus*. And if this be granted, what more natural than to conclude—'minime igitur ego quidem arbitror Platonem id potuisse facere, ut perfecto Symposio descenderet ad illam in Phaedro rationis inconstantiam'? Furthermore, the refutations in *Sympos.* of such statements as that love has 'its own' for object, and that love is 'a god,' seem to indicate a revision of opinions expressed in *Phaedr.* Prof. Crain also compares the views of the two dialogues in regard to 'dialectic,' rhetoric and poetry; but more important than these are the questions concerning the theory of Ideas and the theory of the Soul and its immortality. As to the Ideal theory, the transcendent Ideas of the *Phaedrus* are held to be an earlier stage than the immanent Ideas of the *Symposium*, and the view that Idealism is broached as a novelty in the *Phaedrus* is accepted. As regards the immortality of the soul, no argument can be drawn, it is argued, for or against the priority of either dialogue, since the problem is treated in each on a different side and from a distinct standpoint: 'mortalem apparet in Symposio spectari animum, in Phaedro immortalem. Vtraque ratio se ipsa contenta est neque altera videtur ad alteram pertinere; necessitudinem earum Plato inter se nullam ostendit' (p. 60). Whether this method of treating their divergences will satisfy the champions of a post-republican *Phaedrus* may be doubted; but Prof. Crain pays only scant attention throughout to the counter-arguments they adduce. His treatment is in the main so entirely positive that after closing his book the reader cannot repress an uneasy feeling that all has not been said,—that there is still an 'altera pars' which demands a hearing. It is true that he states and dismisses certain opinions of Blass, Teichmüller, and Brunns which are inconvenient, and very probably incorrect; but he does not clear his ground at all completely. Almost at every step of his progress, one might say, he leaves behind him the snakes of argument still lurking in the grass, neither killed nor scotched. They lurk in the pages of Lutoslawski and Raeder, if nowhere else; and it is a safe prophecy that before long they will again be heard hissing as loudly as ever, in Prof. Crain's despite.

This incompleteness, which spoils the cogency of Prof. Crain's proof, is partly due to the narrow limits he has set himself. To fix the date of the *Phaedrus* one ought to take account of many other things besides its relation to the *Symposium*; nor can one decide whether a doctrine or an opinion of Plato's is early or late if one's purview is confined to two dialogues. And, lastly, to say no more about the results of 'stylometry,' which weigh so largely with some in settling the date of the *Phaedrus*, than is here said in the preface will scarcely do much towards convincing the philo-stylometrists. But, as Prof. Crain himself seems to hint, 'that is another story': and perhaps the modern Apollodorus, the enthusiast of Platonic



controversy, may expect from Jena a 'confutatio' to supplement this present 'commentatio.' Meanwhile we welcome the statement before us as a timely counterblast against the lucubrations of those critics who proclaim from the house-tops that the *Phaedrus* 'must be' later than the *Symposium*.

Prof. Karl's dissertation 'de Placidi glossis' has all the appearance of a careful philological study. It is intended to supplement the work of Goetz, Duerling, and others in discriminating the genuine from the spurious among the glosses ascribed to Placidus. The method of treatment may be indicated most simply by setting down the titles of the sections: (1) 'de Placido libri glossarum et codicis Parisini'; (2) 'de Placidi glossario ex diversis partibus composito'; (3) 'de ratione, quae inter breviores Placidi glossas et Festi reliquias intercedat'; (4) 'de amplioribus Placidi glossis cum Festi reliquiis comparatis.'

Prof. Merten's treatise on the Persian War of the Emperor Anastasius, at the commencement of the sixth century, should prove useful and interesting to students of the later Roman Empire. He examines critically the sources, especially Joshua Stylites of Edessa, the relation of whose account to that of Zacharius and Procopius he attempts to determine. For the details and results of his investigations, which are not easily summarized, the student must be referred to Prof. Merten's own Latin.

R. G. BURY.

## RODOCANACHI'S *ROMAN CAPITOL*.

*The Roman Capitol in Ancient and Modern Times.* By E. RODOCANACHI (translated from the French by FREDERICK LAWTON, M.A.). London: Heinemann, 1906. 8vo. Pp. xvi + 264. One Full Page Frontispiece, 49 Figs. in Text, 1 Map. 4s. net.

THE present work is a translation of a French original in large quarto which appeared in 1904. It has, though now sufficiently small to be carried in the pocket, naturally suffered somewhat in other respects from its reduction in size; there has, however, been a proportionate diminution in price, as the original costs 12 francs. The more important illustrations have been retained, and the text and notes are in the main identical; but some documents (the absence of which will not affect the majority of readers, though they are of importance to students) have been omitted—notably the full text of the inventory of the contents of the 'new museum' (now called the Museum of the Capitol) in 1671 (p. 155 of the French original), the descriptions of the museum by the President de Brosses (1739–1740), and by an anonymous writer of 1765 (pp. 161 *seq.* of the original). The text of the speech delivered by Petrarch when he was crowned in the Capitol and that of the Constitution of Benedict XIII, forbidding the lottery (pp. 199 *seq.*), are less important. A more serious inconvenience is the suppression of the text of the modern inscription relating to the Capitol: bare references to Forcella's *Iscrizioni* are hardly likely to be of much service, as it is not a book that will be in the hands of many readers. At times, too, part of a footnote is retained, though it is really an explanation of matter which has been omitted (*e.g.*, the remarks on the Ponte Rotto on p. 142, n. 1). An addition has been made to the English edition in the form of a short section (pp. ix.–xvi., entitled 'A Visit to the Capitol,' which will no doubt be of service. The provision of a list of illustrations, which was absent from the French original, is also an improvement. A few slight additions have been made in places in the text and notes.

M. Rodocanachi's account of the Capitol in the earliest times is not, and does not profess to be, a criticism of the traditional accounts, which it in the main follows. Nor in his further description of the Capitol in the classical period does he enter upon the discussion of controversial points. Fairly full references in the



footnotes, however, make it as a rule easy to examine further in detail the points with which he deals; and the account as a whole will be found useful. In dealing with the sixteenth century drawings of the relief representing the Capitoline temple of Jupiter (p. 40) (he is wrong by the way in stating that it was ever preserved in the Vatican Library), for which see Mr. Wace's article in the forthcoming volume of *Papers of the British School at Rome* (iv), while reckoning Piranesi's representation of it as a sixteenth century drawing, he does not mention the important drawing at Berlin, published by Michaelis in *Röm. Mitt.*, 1891, p. 21, and Tav. iii.

An interesting section is the one which gives the curious legends that gathered round the Capitol in the early middle ages (pp. 57-63), after the ruin and abandonment of its buildings. Between the eighth and the twelfth century, however, the market, and with it the seat of the prefect of the city, was transferred from the *forum holitorium* to the Capitol (p. 65)—a point not noticed by Rodocanachi, but introduced by the translator from an article by Mgr. Duchesne (*Mélanges*, 1904, 481 *seq.*). It is not a little curious, therefore, to find the Antipope Anacletus in 1130-38 giving the whole hill to the Benedictines; and the expressions in the text on pp. 67, 71, with regard to this donation have not been altered so as to square with the new point adduced on p. 65. The Capitol thus became the political centre of the mediaeval city, and the palace of the Capitol was already existing in 1145. It appears to have been almost entirely rebuilt in 1300, and not very much later (1348) were constructed the stairs which led to S. M. in Aracoeli—not of materials taken from the ruins of the temple of Quirinus (p. 78) but of fragments of ancient or mediaeval sepulchral monuments, as an examination of them in 1887 showed (Hülse in *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, 255). The market was transferred in 1477 to the Piazza Navona. In the middle of the fifteenth century the palace, which had fallen into a very dilapidated condition, was restored by Nicholas V (p. 91). The Palazzo dei Conservatori, which had been erected in the meantime, was also reconstructed on a larger scale by him (p. 94). In 1536 Michelangelo drew up plans for the transformation of the whole group, including the construction of a third palace opposite that of the Conservatori. It was more than a century before his plans were completely carried out: but it is to him that the Capitol owes its present aspect.

The origin of the Capitoline collections of antiquities is due to Sixtus IV. Their gradual growth has already been traced by Michaelis (*Röm. Mitt.* 1891, 1 *seq.*), but M. Rodocanachi brings further contributions to their history. After the completion of the new palace (the present Capitoline Museum), a certain number of sculptures were transferred to it; but it was Clement XII who by the donation of the greater part of the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani was the real creator of the collection in the Capitoline Museum. With the exception indeed of the group of bronzes which began to be formed, as has been said, in the fifteenth century, the Palazzo dei Conservatori is mainly indebted for its importance to recent finds. Besides tracing the history of the Capitol and its buildings in its



main outlines, Rodocanachi also has interesting chapters on the lions of the Capitol, pictorial representations of the Capitol, festivities held here, etc., etc.

The book shows a considerable amount of original research in the Capitoline archives. Many of the documents published are identical with those given by Prof. Lanciani in the *Storia degli Scavi*, but have been independently copied.

There is also evidence of wide reading and a fairly good acquaintance with the literature of the subject, though a few omissions may be noted. Thus, the author cites Hülsen's article as to the discovery of the body of the supposed daughter of Cicero in 1485, but in spite of it still asserts (p. 120) (following the unfounded conjecture of Nibby) that the sarcophagus bearing the name of Aurelia Extricata contained the body, whereas this sarcophagus was certainly found in 1744 or 1745. (*C.I.L.* vi. 13310.)

Notice should also have been taken in the account of the legend of S. Maria, in Aracoeli, of the passage in Hülsen's *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols* 30 (which is quoted elsewhere), where he points out that the church is first mentioned in a chronicle of the eighth century, and that the legend of the altar of the Son of God probably arose from a misinterpretation of a dedication

FIDEI·AVG·SACR· as *Filio DEI AVGustus SACRavit.*

There are also certain inconsistencies. Thus, his plan, which is taken from Lanciani's *Forma Urbis*, marks *Locus Montis Tarpei*? on the site of the tower of Paul III, without any statement in the text that the inscription to the *Virgo Caelestis*, in which the phrase occurs, belongs to a period at which the name had been extended to the whole hill (Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1893, 288), and the *Area Capitolina*, appears on the plan as the space to the N. of the *Tabularium*, while in the text it is the esplanade surrounding the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (pp. 28 seq.)

The questions of provenances dealt with in the chapter on the formation of the museums cannot be fully discussed here. The catalogue of the sculptures of the municipal collections, the first volume of which the British School at Rome will shortly publish, will give an opportunity of doing this.

But, while recognizing the value of much of the information given by M. Rodocanachi, I may be permitted, perhaps, to show cause for questioning some of his identifications.

For example, the 'statue of Hadrian as a child,' of which he speaks (p. 205) as having been seen by Aldrovandi in the Capitoline collection, was in reality a head of Hadrian as a youth, in the collection of Eurialo Silvestri (Aldrovandi, p. 276).

Again, we find that in trying to identify the statues which passed from the Vatican to the Capitoline Museum in or after the time of Pius V, he supposes the 'Fortune' (No. 49 of the Boccapaduli inventory—described as a sitting headless figure) to be perhaps identical with statue No. 23 of the Salone—a standing figure of a Muse, the head of which, though readjusted, belongs to it.



Further, on p. 205, n. 2, the statuette of Bacchus as a youth, seen by Aldrovandi in the Capitol, is identified (with a query it is true) with the statue of Bacchus (Galleria 38)<sup>1</sup> which is 1.65 mètre high, while on p. 207, n. 1, we are told (correctly) that the latter is identical with a statue (No. 60, as a fact) from the Vatican which, Righetti says (I. Pl. lxix), was given in the time of Sixtus V. No attempt is made to reconcile these two conflicting statements.

Again, the identification of the 'colossal statue of Tiberius with an ancient head,' which the Cardinal of Ferrara gave in exchange to the Roman people, with the so-called Tiberius (Cortile, No. 17—a head on a modern bust, the head being only 27 cm. high) is most infelicitous (p. 208, n. 1), and looks as though much of the identification had not been done on the spot or even with proper use of books.

Further, he proposes to identify a statue of Hercules bought (if it ever was bought—Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 83, identifies it with the Hercules of Lysippus, which went to Florence) from Francesco Ronconi in 1589—Helbig i<sup>1</sup>. 588 (=i<sup>2</sup>. 606) with a statue of Hercules, the fragments of which were found in 1873 on the Esquiline, in a mediaeval wall! (*Bull. Com.*, 1880, 153 seq.)

The translator has on the whole done his work well, though such expressions as 'Regionaries' (p. 14, n. 2), 'Claudius the Gothic' (p. 16), 'the Minucia portico' (p. 17), 'bandlets' (p. 34), 'sorts of porticoes' (p. 72), 'rostrum' (a mistranslation of 'tribune,' which in this case means 'apse' (p. 74), 'reconstitution' (p. 75), show somewhat too close adherence to the French original. 'Domi' as the plural of 'domus,' on the other hand (p. 17), and 'Plautus [for Plautius] Helianus' (p. 34), are mistakes which must be laid to the translator's charge. Nor is 'crossed' a good translation of 'franchissait,' in speaking of a road which passed through the Servian Wall at the Porta Carmentalis (p. 17). 'Two yards and a half,' which is given as the 'considerable' difference of level between the Forum and the Capitol (p. 26 *init.*), is also an error of the translator's—the real figure is 24 mètres.

Another strange mistake is the citation of M. Babelon's *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République romaine* as *Historical and Chronological Description of the Buildings of the Roman Republic* (p. 35, n. 5), and the statement that the Via Faba Tosta passed 'over' the Arch of Septimius Severus (p. 74—the French 'au-dessus' merely means 'above'), not to mention such forms as the 'bridge of St. Angel's' (p. 76), and 'Esquilian' (p. 146), must be due to the translator's lack of familiarity with Rome.

Again, Rodocanachi's reference, p. 23, n. 1, to the engraving on the opposite page taken from Michaelis' reproduction of a drawing of Heemskerck, is made by the translator into a citation of an engraving reproduced by Michaelis (p. 81, n.). That Prospettivo appears as a proper name, on the other hand, is Rodocanachi's fault (*ibid.*). On p. 148 we find the Strada Capitolina paved 'at the expense of the owners of property on the river bank and of the people.' The words in italics are a bad mistranslation of the words 'propriétaires riverains' (*vicini*—p. 86 of the original). 'Outlandish' too (p. 154, n. 3) is a strange translation of 'baroque.' A serious

<sup>1</sup> 58, which is what is actually given in the English edition, is a misprint for 38.

omission on p. 215 in the translation is that of a statement (p. 156 of the French original) that 'en 1712, on acheta un Faune jouant de la flûte avec un taureau à ses pieds,' which makes the allusion to the Faun in note 7 obscure. The statement in the original is, as a fact, incorrect, for the Faun was not found until 1749.

These imperfections, however (upon which I should not have insisted so much, were it not that I happen to have been obliged to verify M. Rodocanachi's statements in connexion with the compilation of the catalogue already referred to), do not prevent the book from being an important and acceptable contribution to our knowledge, and the translator deserves gratitude for having brought it within the reach of English readers. And it must be confessed that for the few who will still find it necessary for completeness to make use of the French original, there will be many who will be glad to have the work in a portable form.

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## AMERICAN DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY.

WHEN it was first proposed that I should undertake a review of recent dissertations in the field of Classical Philology submitted to American universities in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the task did not appear to be so great as it has proved to be. The list (which I append) of theses sent in response to my request has grown from eight to forty-six, with an average of more than eighty, and an aggregate of nearly four thousand pages. Hence it would be manifestly impossible to consider the dissertations in detail, even if one arrogated the right, which few if any could fairly claim, to pronounce judgment upon the work of scholars labouring in so great a variety of fields. The only practicable course to pursue will be, therefore, to confine this article to somewhat general considerations, referring to individual dissertations by way of illustration rather than in criticism of details.

A glance at the list will show that the degrees were conferred by ten institutions of higher learning, and that in consequence a number of universities are here not represented. This is due in part to the circumstance that all do not require the publication of dissertations,—a fact which accounts also for the small number in some cases, as notably in that of Harvard University. The question whether publication should be required is one of some difficulty. The instances are naturally rare in which sales cover the cost of printing; and with the relatively high rates prevailing in America the requirement may be a real hardship to the young scholar who has, as not unfrequently happens, sacrificed his all to attain the coveted degree. In recent years recourse has been had to various devices, such as publication in journals, in the proceedings of various learned societies, or in 'Studies' or 'Bulletins' issued by the several universities. One of our authors has even resorted to publication in Germany. But, on the other hand, it cannot but be vexatious to scholars to find here and there references to excellent work in unpublished dissertations, treasured in the archives of certain universities, where they are practically inaccessible.

A study of the list suggests some interesting reflections. First of all, it is noteworthy that Greek carries off the lion's share, having to its credit twenty-five dissertations, as against eighteen for Latin, with three overlapping in subject matter. In view of the constant pressure upon Greek and the steadily declining



ratio of Greek to Latin in the number of students in school and college, this fact is doubly significant. It plainly shows that those who are attracted to the classics, and are disposed from a love of the subjects to devote their lives to them, are still most interested in Greek. Many, perhaps most, will undoubtedly end by occupying chairs of Latin, but this is not to be regretted. Indeed, this is as it should be; for they will possess in their Greek studies the indispensable background for both their future studies and their teaching. One cannot help wishing, however, that more universities might follow the wise example of Harvard, which confers the doctorate in the Classics, not in Greek or in Latin alone, recognizing them as coördinate and bound together in a higher unity. All scholars should feel that the classical languages stand or fall together, and that Latin without Greek is as impossible as it is illogical.

One naturally inquires concerning the range of studies represented by the dissertations as affording an index of the relative emphasis given to various subjects in the classical instruction of American universities. Some years ago one of the foremost Hellenists of the United States remarked that Teubner texts were cheap and that our graduate students might at least be presumed to be able to count, and that therefore some statistical study of grammar was perhaps the most feasible task to set. Bearing that doctrine in mind, one might have been prepared to find such studies largely predominating. But such is not the case. Indeed, there is hardly one dissertation in the list that could be fairly so classed. The prominence of American scholars in syntactical studies in particular might have led one to expect a larger number of dissertations in this field. As a matter of fact, there are only eight devoted to syntax, whereas nine or ten may be counted for the study of institutions, six for rhetoric, and five for the archaeology of art. Besides these subjects, morphology, metrics, lexicography, semasiology, epigraphy, palaeography, textual criticism, literary and political history, religion and folklore, the study of nature, and the development of moral ideas, are all duly represented.

This survey amply proves that the classics are being taught in no narrow spirit. It is frequently asserted by those who criticize the teachers of Greek and Latin that their interest is in the formal rather than the substantive, and that their instruction lacks that intimate human touch which lends vitality. The evidence seems to discredit the charge. At all events, if there be a tendency on the part of certain teachers to confine their instruction to matters by nature somewhat formal and abstract, it is evident that the healthy humanity of their students soon breaks through the toils thus woven for them.

One is naturally prompted next to inquire concerning the quality and value of the work here presented. Ten or fifteen years ago an American dissertation was rarely noticed in a foreign review, or if noticed at all, then only cavalierly and superciliously, in a tone implying the question whether anything good could come out of America. This was particularly true of Germany. In more recent years all this has changed. Every dissertation now receives consideration, and the



prevailing judgment in most cases is highly favourable. Now and then one chances on a review calculated to evoke a smile, as when a recent reviewer compared, to its disadvantage, an American dissertation with a study in the same field written by the veteran Leo. Such reviewing can be had cheap and would excite more unfavourable comment if it was less common. On the other hand, competent German scholars recognize the kinship of classical work done in America with their own. Indeed, it were strange if they did not, seeing that the productive American scholars in middle life or older were almost without exception trained by the German masters. And if there is not now the same necessity as formerly existed for resorting to Bonn, Goettingen, and Berlin, it is because the same spirit breathes and the same methods are pursued in the seminar in the American university as prevail in the schools of Germany.

In trying to gauge the value of the American dissertation one inevitably compares it with the German, since England has no analogue to offer. The American may well make the comparison with confidence in the result; and it may be something more rational than chauvinism that leads him to give the American dissertation the preference. The average age of the German candidate for the doctorate of philosophy cannot be more than twenty-four. The average age of the American cannot be so easily computed. The time-honoured practice of adding a 'Vita' to the dissertation has been almost universally abandoned in America, but it seems a safe guess that the average age of an American on attaining the doctorate is not much short of twenty-nine. He may not have acquired more technical knowledge than his German cousin, but the difference of five years makes effectively for greater maturity, and this relative maturity shows to advantage in sanity of judgment and breadth of view. These qualities do, as a matter of fact, in a high degree distinguish the best American work.

It is only fair to say that no small share of the credit for this fact is due to the professors in our leading universities. As graduate instruction on this side of the Atlantic is a comparatively recent growth, some teachers have doubtless felt that international recognition of the dignity of their work must depend on the productions of their students. In order to ensure the best results and to compensate for the absence of a general atmosphere favourable to scholarly pursuits, they have in many cases sacrificed their own ambitions to the cause, bestowing time and criticism without stint upon their more promising students. Hence an American dissertation often owes far more than the initial suggestion to the university professor, and many an American scholar owes more to his teachers than he can ever fully know.

It is, of course, true of all scholars that their first considerable task gives direction to their subsequent studies. But of the American student this is perhaps true to an exceptional degree, because of the scope of the inquiry upon which he is launched by his advisers. If one considers the themes chosen by the American candidate and compares them with those of the German student, the difference is often very striking. It must frequently happen that for sheer lack of time the



subject to be treated of in the dissertation must be narrowed, and sometimes the result will necessarily prove so vague that, considered objectively as an addition to science, it will possess little worth. But, regarded from the point of view of the young scholar, such themes, open though they be to serious criticism, may be a great boon. Once embarked on his investigation, he is led into many paths, and the subject he has chosen thus becomes the nucleus of a life-work. It was remarked above that the average length of the dissertations in our list is upwards of eighty pages, and some of them assume the proportions of large volumes. Dr. Bonner's excellent study of *Evidence in Athenian Courts* (7) shows on every page his teacher's training in the law, and thus affords a striking illustration of the extent to which a dissertation may be indebted to the professor. In the same way Dr. Wetmore's prospectus of a complete Vergil Lexicon (43) shows how ambitious some of the schemes are upon which the graduate student embarks.

There is, therefore, good reason for a favourable opinion of the average dissertation, so far as concerns scholarship and its significance for the scholar himself. It is usually more than a *specimen eruditionis*, and often marks the beginning of a career of productive research, the fruits of which are overcrowding the classical journals. Some there are, no doubt, who deprecate this result, believing that it betokens a loss to the teacher ill compensated by the advancement of learning. But I do not think it possible that work which serves to unify and organize the acquisitions of a scholarly pursuit can fairly be said to redound to the detriment of classical teaching. If the interest in the class-room be found to suffer discount, this may be due to other causes. One such possible cause is suggested by a reading of the dissertations. It is the want of literary form and finish that mars to an appreciable extent the impression produced by some dissertations which in point of matter are excellent. It is not surprising that this should be found to be true, but one cannot help regretting the fact, particularly as the same defect is likely to characterize the subsequent work of the scholar whether in the lecture-room or in his published writings.

One more point of considerable interest disclosed by a study of the list of dissertations ought not to fail of mention: women constitute nearly twenty-five per cent. of the total number of authors. In quality their work averages well with that of the men, and their subjects cover almost the same range. This is significant for the higher education of women, which is having a growth in the United States without precedent. The General Education Board has recently called attention to the fact that, while colleges generally are attracting students in ever increasing numbers, those for women in particular are taxed beyond their capacity. As the policy of that influential body will favour the addition of more women's colleges, it is comforting to know that there is an increasing number of women admirably prepared to assume the office of instruction in the classics.

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## LIST OF DISSERTATIONS.

- (1) ALLEN, GEORGE H., *Centurions as Substitute Commanders of Auxiliary Corps*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series, Vol. I. Roman Historical Sources and Institutions. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1904. Pp. 333-394. U. of Michigan.
- (2) ALLEN, KATHARINE, *The Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Roman Empire (Exclusive of Comedy)*. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 28. Philology and Literature Series, Vol. I., No. 2. Pp. 89-219. Madison, Wis., 1899. U. of Wisconsin.
- (3) BADEN, WILLIAM WILSON, *The Principal Figures of Language and Figures of Thought in Isaeus and the Guardianship-Speeches of Demosthenes*. The Lord Baltimore Press, Baltimore, 1906. Pp. 37. Johns Hopkins U.
- (4) BALL, ALLAN PERLEY, *The Satire of Seneca on the Apotheosis: commonly called the Ἀποκοκύντωσις: A Study* by A. P. B. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1902. Pp. 256. Columbia U.
- (5) BECHTEL, EDWARD A., *Sanctae Silviae Peregrinatio: The Text and a Study of the Latinity*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1902, Pp. 160. U. of Chicago.
- (6) BERG, GEORGE OLAF, *Metaphor and Comparison in the Dialogues of Plato*. Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1904. Pp. 59. Johns Hopkins U.
- (7) BONNER, ROBERT J., *Evidence in Athenian Courts*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 98. U. of Chicago.
- (8) BRACKETT, HAVEN D., *Temporal Clauses in Herodotus*. Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. XLI., No. 8. July, 1905. Pp. 171-232. Harvard U.
- (9) BROWDER, JONATHAN BAYLEY, *The Time Element of the Oresteian Trilogy*. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 62. Philology and Literature Series, Vol. II., No. 1. Pp. 1-76. Madison, Wis., July 1902. U. of Wisconsin.
- (10) BROWN, LESTER DORMAN, *A Study of the Case Construction of Words of Time*. Published by the Author, New Haven, Conn., 1904. Pp. 141. Yale U.
- (11) CANTER, HOWARD VERNON, *The Infinitive Construction in Livy*. Press of E. W. Stephens, Pub. Co., Columbia, Mo., 1906. Pp. 93. Johns Hopkins U.
- (12) CLAFLIN, EDITH FRANCES, *The Syntax of the Boeotian Dialect Inscriptions*. Bryn Mawr College Monographs. Monograph Series III. The Lord Baltimore Press, Baltimore, 1905. Pp. 93. Bryn Mawr College.
- (13) COSENZA, MARIO EMILIO, *Official Positions after the Time of Constantine*. New Era Printing Co., Lancaster, Pa., 1905. Pp. 109. Columbia U.
- (14) CRUMLEY, JOHN JACKSON, *On the Social Standing of Freedmen as Indicated in the Latin Writers: Preceded by a Discussion of the Use and Meaning of the Words libertus and libertinus. Part I*. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co., 1906. Pp. 43. Johns Hopkins U.
- (15) DENNISON, WALTER, *The Epigraphic Sources of the Writings of Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus*. American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series, Vol. II., 1898. Pp. 27-70. U. of Michigan.



- (16) DIGNAN, FRANK W., *The Idle Actor in Aeschylus*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 43. U. of Chicago.
- (17) DRAKE, JOSEPH H., *The Principales of the Early Empire*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series, Vol. I. Roman Historical Sources and Institutions. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1904. Pp. 161-332. U. of Michigan.
- (18) DU BOIS, ELIZABETH HICKMAN, *The Stress Accent in Latin Poetry*. New York. The Columbia University Press, 1906. Pp. 96. Columbia U.
- (19) ELDEN, WALLACE STEDMAN, *The Conditional Period in the Writings of Quintus Horatius Flaccus*. Waterville, Maine, Mail Publishing Co., 1900. Pp. 128, U. of Michigan.
- (20) ELDERKIN, GEORGE WICKER, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Greek Epic*. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co., 1906. Pp. 49. Johns Hopkins U.
- (21) FLICKINGER, ROY CASTON, *Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theatre*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 64. U. of Chicago.
- (22) FRANK, TENNEY, *Attraction of Mood in Early Latin*. New Era Printing Co., Lancaster, Pa., 1904. Pp. 59. U. of Chicago.
- (23) GORDIS, WARREN STONE, *The Estimates of Moral Values Expressed in Cicero's Letters: A Study of the Motives Professed or Approved*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 102. U. of Chicago.
- (24) GUNNERSON, WILLIAM CYRUS, *History of U-Stems in Greek*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 72. U. of Chicago.
- (25) HADZSITS, GEORGE DEPUE, *Prolegomena to a Study of the Ethical Ideal of Plutarch and of the Greeks of the First Century A.D.* Cincinnati, University of Cincinnati Press, 1906. Pp. 66. U. of Michigan.
- (26) HOPE, EDWARD WILLIAM, *The Language of Parody: A Study in the Diction of Aristophanes*. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co., 1906. Pp. 62. Johns Hopkins U.
- (27) KELLERMAN, IVY, *On the Syntax of Some Prepositions in the Greek Dialects*. Lancaster, Pa., New Era Printing Co., 1904. Pp. 79. U. of Chicago.
- (28) MACURDY, GRACE HARRIET, *The Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides*. Lancaster, Pa., New Era Printing Co., 1905. Pp. 127. Columbia U.
- (29) MEETEER, HENRIETTA JOSEPHINE, *The Artists of Pergamum*. Lancaster, Pa., New Era Printing Co., 1904. Pp. 45. U. of Pennsylvania.
- (30) MISENER, GENEVA, *The Meaning of Γάμ*. Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, 1804. Pp. 75. U. of Chicago.
- (31) O'CONNOR, CHARLES JAMES, *The Graecostasis of the Roman Forum and its Vicinity*. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 99. Philology and Literature Series, Vol III., No. 2. Pp. 155-203. Madison, Wis., 1904.
- (32) PASCHAL, GEORGE WASHINGTON, *A Study of Quintus of Smyrna*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 82. U. of Chicago.
- (33) PERKINS, ELIZABETH MARY, *The Expression of Customary Action or State in Early Latin*. Press of Judd and Detweiler, Washington, D.C., 1904. Pp. 78. Bryn Mawr College.
- (34) POWELL, BENJAMIN, *Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops*. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, No. XVII. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1906. Pp. 86 + 12 Figures. Cornell U.



- (35) RANDOLPH, CHARLES BREWSTER, *The Mandragora of the Ancients in Folk-Lore and Medicine*. Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. XI. No. 12, January, 1905. Pp. 487—537. Harvard U.
- (36) SANDERS, HENRY NEVILL, *The Cynegeticus*. Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, 1903. Pp. 32. Johns Hopkins U.
- (37) SHIPLEY, FREDERICK WILLIAM, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1904. Pp. 93. U. of Chicago.
- (38) SHOWERMAN, GRANT, *The Great Mother of the Gods*. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 43. Philology and Literature Series, Vol. I. No. 3, 1901. Madison, Wis., February, 1901. Pp. 222—333. U. of Wisconsin.
- (39) SMILEY, CHARLES NEWTON, *Latinitas and Ἑλληνισμός: The Influence of the Stoic Theory of Style as Shown in the Writings of Dionysius, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Fronto, Aulus Gellius, and Sextus Empiricus*. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 143. Philology and Literature Series, Vol. III., No. 3. Pp. 205—272. Madison, Wis., August, 1906. U. of Wisconsin.
- (40) STUART, DUANE REED, *The Attitude of Dio Cassius towards Epigraphic Sources*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series, Vol. I. Roman Historical Sources and Institutions. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1904. Pp. 101—147. U. of Michigan.
- (41) THALLON, IDA CARLETON, *The Date of Damophon*. The American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series, Vol. X. (1906), No. 3. Pp. 302—329. Columbia U.
- (42) VAN HOOK, LARUE, *The Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetorical and Literary Criticism*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 51. U. of Chicago.
- (43) WETMORE, MONROE NICHOLS, *The Plan and Scope of a Vergil Lexicon: with Specimen Articles*. Published by the Author, New Haven, Conn., 1904. Pp. 128. Yale U.
- (44) WILLIAMS, MARY GILMORE, *Studies in the Lives of Roman Empresses. Julia Mamaea*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series, Vol. I. Roman Historical Sources and Institutions. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1904. Pp. 67—100. U. of Michigan.
- (45) WILLIS, GWENDOLEN BROWN, *The Ancient Gods in Greek Romance*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 53. Bryn Mawr College.
- (46) WRIGHT, HENRY BURT, *The Campaign of Plataea (September, 479 B.C.)*. New Haven, The Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Co., 1904. Pp. 148. Yale U.

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[Two of the above, Nos. (7) and (10), were noticed in the *Classical Review* for 1906, pp. 56 ff. and 405 ff. respectively.—ED. C.Q.] ¶



## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### American Journal of Philology. Vol. 28. No. 1. 1907.

*The Unreal Conditional Sentence in Cicero* (First Paper), H. C. Nutting. *The Prosody of Ille. A Study of the Anomalies of Roman Quantity* (Second Paper), Robert S. Radford. *Notes on the Schmalz-Krebs Antibarbarus*, Emory B. Lease. *Cicero de Officiis* i. §§ 7, 8, Charles Knapp. *Lucretius* v. 1006, William A. Merrill. *Notes on Philolaus*, W. A. Heidel. Reviews, etc.: Kaibel's *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*, Edward Capps. Fife's *Wortschatz des Englischen Maundeville*, Charles D. Osgood, Jun. Summaries of Periodicals: *Hermes*, *Rheinisches Museum*. Brief Mention: By the Editor reply to Dr. W. G. Headlam's strictures (*J. of Philology*, No. 60) on his Pindar, Drerup's *Isocrates*. Radford's *Plautine Synizesis* (*Am. Phil. Trans.* xxxvi. pp. 158-210), G. L. Thulin's *Italische Sakrale Poesie und Prosa*, and S. Eitrem's *Observations on the Colax of Menander and the Eunuch of Terence*, M. W. Roman Dyboski's *Tennysons Sprache und Stil*, W. P. M. Recent Publications, etc.

### Classical Philology. Vol. 2. No. 1. 1907.

*Travel in Ancient Times as seen in Plautus and Terence*, Charles Knapp. *The 'More Ancient Dionysia' at Athens*, Edward Capps. *The Use of Language as a Means of Characterization in Petronius*, Frank Frost Abbott. *The Relation of the Accent to the Pyrrhic in Latin Verse*, Albert Granger Harkness. *The Subjunctive in Consecutive Clauses*, J. J. Schlicher. Notes and Discussions: *Hirtius' Letters to Balbus and the Commentaries of Caesar*, Francis W. Kelsey. *Sophocles Oed. Tyr.* 40-45, F. T. Rickards.<sup>1</sup> *The Theory of Iambic Shortening in Lindsay's Captivi*, Frank Frost Abbott. *Rejoinder*, W. M. Lindsay. *Notes on some Kioniskoi in Athens*, David M. Robinson. Book Reviews: Kenyon's *The Evidence of Greek Papyri with regard to Textual Criticism*, F. Blass. Judeich's *Topographie von Athen*, L. D. Caskie. B. Niese's *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte*, Joh. H. Drake. Altendorf's *Aesthetischer Kommentar zur Odyssee*, Joh. A. Scott. R. G. Kent's *History of Thessaly*, Campbell Bonner. Morris H. Morgan's *On the Language of Vitruvius*, J. C. Rolfe. O. Dittrich's *Grundsätze der Sprachpsychologie*, Hanns Oertel. Detschiff's *De tragoediarum Graecarum conformatione scaenica ac dramatica*, Roy C. Flickinger. Brunn's *Kleine Schriften*, Paul Baur. Harry's *The Prometheus of Aeschylus*, Edward B. Clapp. F. Poulsen's *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, G. H. Chase. Verrall's *Four Plays of Euripides*, P. Shorey. D. Magie's *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis in Graecum sermonem conversis*, Ed. Capps. Da Costa's *Index etymologicus dictionis Homericae*, C. D. Buck. Wecklein's *Studien zur Ilias*, 2 (T. D. Seymour). J. S. Phillimore's *Index Verborum Propertianus*, B. O. Foster. *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome*, G. N. Olcott. La R. Van Hook's *The Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism*, Theodore, C. Burgess. W. S. Tyler's *Selections from the Greek Lyric Poets*, P. S(horey).

#### No. 2.

*On a Bodleian Copy of Pliny's Letters*, Elmer Truesdell Merrill. *On the Prologue of Terence's Heauton*, Roy C. Flickinger. *The Semantics of Modal Constructions*, Tenney Frank. *The Lucretian Invocation of Venus*, George Depue Hadzsits. *Maron: A Mythological Study*,

<sup>1</sup> Not F. T. Richards as in the Table of Contents.



Charles B. Newcomer. *Notes from Sinaitic Papyri*, E. O. Winstedt. Notes and Discussions: Πόρος, Karl Brugmann. *On Some Passages in Propertius*, B. O. Foster. *A reply to Professor Tarbell*, Oliver S. Tonks. *Rejoinder*, F. B. Tarbell. Book Reviews. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf et al.: *Die Kultur der Gegenwart. Die Griechische und Lateinische Literatur und Sprache*, J. C. Rolfe. J. B. Carter's *Religion of Numa*, S. B. Platner. Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, G. J. Laing. Kalbfleisch and Schöne's *Griechische Papyri medizinischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Inhalts*, E. J. Godspeed. Dignan's *The Idle Actor in Aeschylus*, E. B. Clapp. Burnham's *Glossemata de Prudentio*, E. B. Lease. Kroll's *Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert*, G. L. Hendrickson. Jebb's *Bacchylides*, P. Shorey. E. G. Hardy's *Studies in Roman History*, F. F. Abbott. R. Pöhlmann's *Grundriss der Griechischen Geschichte*, W. S. Ferguson. Haverfield's *Romanisation of Greater Britain*, G. N. Olcott. G. B. Hussey's *Handbook of Latin Homonyms*, E. H. Sturtevant. Edith F. Claflin's *Syntax of the Boeotian Dialect Inscriptions*, Helen M. Searles. Espérandieu's *Signacula medicorum oculariorum*, W. Dennison.

#### Mnemosyne. 35. 1. 1907.

H. T. Karsten, *De Commentis Donatiani compositione et origine*. One chief interpolator (I or IP). To him are due almost all the cases in which the same subject as Donatus handles is handled in a different style and manner, with evident knowledge of D.'s note. J. Van Leeuwen, *Homerica* (from vol. 34). 33. De Nestoris aetate. Idem, *Ad scholia Aristophanica*. Two corrections. P. H. Damsté, *Minuciana* (from vol. 34). Emendations from ch. 17 onwards. I. H. Leopold, *Ad Marcum Antoninum*. 1. Codex A. 2. Critical Notes. 3. Punctuation, Transposition, etc. J. J. H., *Ad Aristophanis Nubium vss. 530 sq.* Read ἐξέθηκ' ἄπαις. C. Brakman, *Apuleiana* (from vol. 34). Notes (critical, with many details as to Apuleius' style and vocabulary) on pp. 222-277.

#### Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. 19. 1. 1907.

H. Peter, *Pontius Pilatus, der römische Landpfleger in Judäa*. Examination of Pilate's conduct. The gospels (esp. the synoptic) represent it favourably, Philo and Josephus unfavourably. Treatment in the Peter gospel and *Acta Pilati*. Tertullian extremely favourable. Tendency in the opposite direction begins with Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 7). The *Descensus Christi* and the legends. A. Hildebrand, *Lenaus Faust. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: O. Schulthess gives a summary and a favourable report of *Mélanges Nicole*; O. Hoffman's *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* reviewed by A. Thumb. 'I myself incline still to the assumption of a special language, strongly influenced by Greek from early times, through immigration of Greek tribes and contact with neighbours, but preserving its phonetic and flexional character down to Hellenistic times'; G. Veith's *Geschichte der Feldzüge C. Julius Cäsars*: 'On the whole useful and meritorious, but not the final work on Caesar as a general.' (K. Lehmann) [20. 1. F. Schemmel, *Der Sophist Libanios als Schüler und Lehrer*.]

#### Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1907.

16 Jan. *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde*, herausg. von C. Wessely. II-V (A. Stein), very favourable. E. Kammer, *Ein aesthetischer Kommentar zu Homers Ilias*, 3. Aufl. (Chr. Harder), favourable. W. H. Roscher, *Die Hebdomenlehren der griechischen Philosophen und Ärzte* (Pagel), very favourable. B. de Hagen, *Num similtas intercesserit Isocrati cum Platone* (H. Gillischewski). Concluded in the negative against Spengel. H. Boegli, *Über Ciceros Rede für Caecina* (J. Plaff), favourable. J. Endt, *Zur Überlieferung der Adnotationes super Lucanum* (P. Wessner), favourable. P. R. G. Günther, *Das Problem der Theodisee im Neuplatonismus* (A. Döring), favourable. E. Cicotti, *La filosofia della Guerra e la Guerra alla Filosofia* (R. Lange), favourable on the whole.

23 Jan. A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*. 2. Aufl. I



(C. Fries), favourable. C. Meier, *Quaestionum onomatologicarum capita quattuor* (A. Fick). 'Contains much that is good and new.' P. Brandt, *Sappho* (β.), favourable. W. A. Heidel, *Qualitative change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy* (A. Döring), favourable on the whole. G. Pasquali, *Prolegomena ad Procli commentarium in Cratylum* (W. Crönert), favourable. W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms in seinem Übergange von der republikanischen zur monarchischen Verfassung*. 2. Aufl. herausg. von P. Groebe. III (O. E. Schmidt). A. Zanner, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*. 2. Aufl. (M. Niedermann), favourable.

30 Jan. H. Browne, *Handbook of Homeric Study* (Chr. Harder), favourable on the whole. Guil. Felsch, *Quibus artificiis adhibitis poetae tragici Graeci unitates illas et temporis et loci observaverint* (Chr. Muff), favourable. R. Pöhlmann, *Sokratische Studien* (B. v. Hagen), favourable. Th. Marshall, *Aristotle's Theory of Conduct* (A. Döring), unfavourable on the whole. J. Zwicher, *De vocabulis et rebus Gallicis sive Transpadanis apud Vergilium* (M. Stowasser), very favourable. G. N. Olcott, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae epigraphicae*. I. fasc. 3-7 (M. Ihm). *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. II, 2 (M. Ihm).

6 Feb. M. Croiset, *Aristophane et les partis à Athènes* (Schneider), very favourable. E. Rolland, *De l'influence de Sénèque le père et des rhéteurs sur Sénèque le philosophe* (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. P. Rasi, *I versus de ligno crucis* (M. Manitius), favourable. P. Rasi, *De codice quodam Ticinensi quo incerti scriptoris carmen de pascha continetur* (M. Manitius), favourable. *Libanii opera*, rec. R. Foerster, III (R. Asmus), favourable. 'Αδαμαντίου, Τὰ Χρονικά τοῦ Μωρέως (G. Wartenberg), favourable. Ν. Γ. Πολίτης, Γαμήλια σύμβολα (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

13 Feb. *Aischylos' Choephoren*. Erklärende Ausgabe von Fr. Blass (F. Adami) favourable. J. E. Harrison, *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* (W. Judeich), rather unfavourable. H. Francotte, *L'organisation des cités à Rhodes et en Carie* (Schneider), favourable. R. Däbritz, *De Artemidoro Strabonis auctore capita tria* (W. Ruge), favourable. M. Hamilton, *Incubation* (Pagel), very favourable. *Petronii satirae et liber Priapeorum*, quantum ed. F. Buecheler (E. Lommatzsch). V. Ussani, *Questioni Petroniane* (E. Lommatzsch), favourable; though not in accord. Lor. Dalmesso, *La grammatica di C. Suetonio* (Th. Stangl), unfavourable on the whole. H. Dessau, *Minucius Felix und Caecilius Natalis* (Boenig), favourable. H. Brewer, *Kommodian von Gaza, Ein arelateinischer Laiendichter aus der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts* (M. Manitius), very favourable. E. Gnerich, *Andreas Gryphius und seine Herodes-Epen* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

20 Feb. J. Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politische Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes* (Schneider), favourable. Th. Lefort, *Notes sur le culte d'Asklépios* (Pagel), favourable. H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 2. Aufl. (A. Döring), very favourable. *Tacito, I libri XV-XVI degli Annali*, comment. da V. Ussani (G. Andresen), favourable. *Dracontii Orestes*, rec. C. Giarratano (M. Manitius), unfavourable. C. Giarratano, *Commentationes Dracontianae* (M. Manitius), favourable. O. Gradenwitz, *Laterculi vocum Latinarum* (W. Heraeus), very favourable.

27 Feb. A. Wünsche, *Schöpfung und Sündenfall des ersten Menschenpaares* (Fr. Jeremias), favourable on the whole. W. v. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*. V., favourable. H. Nissen, *Orientation, Studien zur Geschichte der Religion*. I. (F. K. Ginzel), favourable. S. Eitrem, *Kleobis und Biton* (H. Stending), unfavourable. F. Gustafsson, *Tacitus als Geschichtsschreiber* (Ed. Wolff), favourable. F. Gustafsson, *Tacitus als Denker* (Ed. Wolff), favourable. S. Angus, *The sources of the first ten books of Augustine's De Civitate Dei* (C. W.), unfavourable. H. Januel, *Commentationes philologicae in Zenonem Veronensem, Gaudentium Brixianensem, Petrum Chrysologum Ravennatem* (M. Manitius), favourable. E. K. Rand, *Johannes Scottus* (M. Manitius), very favourable.

6 Mar. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*. XXI. *Zur Genesis* (Fr. Jeremias), favourable. *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, dig. Aem. Martini et D. Bassi (W. Crönert). Fr. Koepp, *Die Römer in Deutschland* (Ed. Wolff), very



favourable. G. Macdonald and A. Park, *The Roman forts on the Bar Hill* (M. Ihm), favourable.

13 Mar. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (H. Steuding), favourable. Plato, *The Menexenus*, ed. by J. A. Shawyer (A. Trendelenburg), unfavourable. A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten*. I. *Chalkidike* (G. Wartenberg), favourable. Hübner, *De Ciceronis oratione pro Q. Roscio comoedo quaestiones rhetoricae* (W. Barczat), favourable. H. Willemsen, *De Varronianae doctrinae apud fastorum scriptores vestigiis* (W. Soltau), favourable. Castiglioni, *Studi intorno alle fonti e alla composizione delle metamorfosi di Ovidio* (K. P. Schulze), very favourable.

20 Mar. W. Deonna, *Les Statues de terre-cuite en Grèce* (O. Rossbach), favourable. R. Ballheimer, *Griechische Vasen aus dem Hamburger Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* (W. Amelung). J. May, *Zur Kritik der Proömien des Demosthenes* (W. Nitsche), favourable. A. Kretschmar, *De Menandri reliquiis nuper repertis* (W. Crönert), very favourable. J. Helck, *De Cratetis Mallotae studiis criticis quae ad Iliadem spectant* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. J. B. Carter, *The religion of Numa and other essays on the religion of ancient Rome* (H. Steuding), favourable.

27 Mar. E. Lange, *Sokrates* (B. v. Hagen), favourable. *Isocratis opera omnia*, rec. E. Drerup. I. (H. Gillischewski), very favourable. *Juvenalis Saturae*, ed. A. E. Housman (R. Helm). While admitting the editor's ability the reviewer takes exception to the polemical tone. W. Wrede, *Das literarische Rätsel des Hebräerbriefes* (W. Soltau), very favourable. J. Gabriellson, *Über die Quellen des Clemens Alexandrinus*. I. (J. Dräseke), favourable.

3 April. *Spruchwörterbuch*, herausg. von Fr. Lipperheide. Lief. 9-20 (F. H.). *Diodori Bibliotheca historica*, vol. V., rec. Th. Fischer (F. Reuss), favourable. J. Gabriellson, *Über Favorinus und seine παντοπαγή ιστορία* (J. Dräseke), favourable. E. Schwartz, *Rede auf H. Usener* (A. Prümers).

10 April. *Dionysii Halicarnasensis Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, ed. C. Jacoby. IV. (Fr. Reuss), favourable. J. Endt, *Studien zum Commentator Cruquianus* (P. Wessner), favourable. *Taciti Annalium libri*, rec. C. D. Fisher (J. Müller), rather unfavourable. A. T. Lindblom, *In Silii Italici Punica quaestiones* (R. Helm), favourable. Th. Sinko, *Studia Nazianzenica*. I. (J. Dräseke), favourable.

17 April. P. Graindor, *Histoire de l'Île de Skyros jusqu'en 1538* (C. Friedrich), favourable. W. Aly, *De Aeschyli copia verborum capita selecta* (W. Prellwitz), favourable. A. B. Hersman, *Studies in Greek allegorical interpretation* (W. Nestle), favourable. A. Schwarzenberg, *Leitfaden der römischen Altertümer*. 2. Aufl. (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. R. Knopf, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments* (W. Soltau), favourable. A. Naegele, *Über Arbeitslieder bei Johannes Chrysostomos* (J. Dräseke), favourable. H. Grégoire, *La Vie de St. Abraamios par Cyrille de Skythopolis* (J. Dräseke).

24 April. W. Jarrell, *Ausgewählte Inschriften griechisch und deutsch* (W. Larfeld), very favourable. A. Arendt, *Syrakus im zweiten punischen Kriege*. II. *Geschichte der Stadt* (G. Rathke), favourable on the whole. J. Schwede, *De adiectivis materiem significantibus quae in prisca Latinitate suffixorum -no et -eo ope formata sunt* (R. Meringer), favourable. C. Giarratano, *I codici Fiorentini di Asconio Pediano*. W. Renz, *Alliterationen bei Tacitus* (Th. Opitz), favourable.

1 May. K. Paepcke, *De Pergamenorum litteratura* (W. Larfeld), very favourable. A. v. Kleemann, *Das problem der platonischen Symposion* (A. Döring), favourable. E. H. Renkema, *Observationes criticae et exegeticae ad C. Valerii Flacci Argonautica* (Hublocher), favourable. *Der Ober-germanisch-Rätische Limes des Römerreiches*, herausg. von O. v. Sarwey und E. Fabricius. XXVII. (M. Ihm). H. J. Holtzmann, *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu—Ein Beitrag zur Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (W. Soltau), favourable.

8 May. H. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*. XIX. *Italia inferior cum insulis*. XX. *Italiae pars media*. XXIII. *Italia superior cum regionibus Alpinis*. XXI. *Roma urbs tem-*



*poribus liberae reipublicae*. XXII. *Roma urbs inde ab Augusti aetate*. XIII. *Peloponnesus cum Attica*. XIV. *Phocis, Boeotia, Attica, Athenae*. Herausg. von R. Kiepert (F. H.). W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. 2. Aufl. (P. Kretschmer), favourable. J. Höpken, *Über die Entstehung der Phaenomena des Eudoxos-Aratos* (H. Moeller), favourable. F. Gottanka, *Suetons Verhältnis zu der Denkschrift des Augustus* (Th. Opitz), favourable. W. Fürst, *Suetons Verhältnis zu der Denkschrift des Augustus* (Th. Opitz), favourable. H. van de Weerd, *Étude historique sur trois légions du Bas-Danube* (E. Ritterling). 'A diligent compilation, but it brings us no further.'

15 May. A. Lang, *Homer and his Age* (C. Rothe). 'We can heartily recommend the reading of this book to those who doubt the unity of the Homeric poems.' J. W. White, *An unrecognized actor in Greek Comedy* (Chr. Muff), favourable. S. Scimè, *De imitatione atque de inventione in Martialis epigrammaton libris* (M. Manitius), unfavourable. R. Cagnat, *Les bibliothèques municipales dans l'empire romain* (H. Nohl), favourable. *Der Römische Limes in Österreich*. Heft VII (M. Ihm). N. Terzaghi, *Sul commento di Niceforo Gregora al περὶ ἐννεννίων di Sinesio* (W. Fritz). F. Succo, *Rhythmischer Choral, Altarweisen und griechische Rhythmen* (H. G.), favourable. Fr. Preller der Jüngere, *Tagebücher des Künstlers*, herausg. von M. Jordan (H. L. Urlichs), favourable. Fr. Preller der Jüngere, *Briefe und Studien aus Griechenland*, herausg. von E. Boden (H. L. Urlichs), favourable.

22 May. W. v. Marées, *Karten von Leukas, Beiträge zur Frage Leukas-Ithaka* (P. Goessler), very favourable. M. M. F. Oswald, *The Prepositions in Apollonius Rhodius, compared with their use in Homer* (Helbing), favourable. A. Giarratano, *Due codici di Asconio Pediano* (M. Stangl), favourable. Keune, *Epona* (H. Steuding), favourable. *Origo Constantini imperatoris sive Anonymi Valesiani* pars I. Commentario instruit A. Westerhuis (C. Weyman), favourable.

29 May. *Asconii orationum Ciceronis quinque enarratio*, rec. A. C. Clark (Th. Stangl), very favourable. J. Endt, *Studien zum Commentator Cruquianus* (J. Häussner), favourable. *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*. II, 1. (*dactyliotheca—doceo*), conscripsit E. Grupe (W. Kalb). R. Reppe, *De L. Annaeo Cornuto* (P. Wessner), favourable.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

### Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. 27. 1907. Part 1.

1. E. N. Gardiner: Throwing the Diskos. (Three plates; Twenty-four cuts.)
2. J. Wells: The Persian Friends of Herodotus.
3. W. W. Tarn: The Fleets of the First Punic War.
4. F. W. Hasluck: Inscriptions from the Cyzicus District.
5. E. S. Forster: Terracottas from Boeotia and Crete. (Five cuts.)
6. J. K. Fotheringham: On the List of 'Thalassocracies' in Eusebius.
7. W. W. Wroth: Peparethus and its Coinage. (Plate; three cuts.)
8. J. Strzygowski: A Sarcophagus of the Sidamara Type. (Eight plates; sixteen cuts.)
9. J. L. Myres: The List of 'Thalassocracies' in Eusebius; a Reply.
10. Notices of Books.

### American Journal of Archaeology. 1907. Part 1.

1. C. Ward: The Temple at Mushennef, Haurân, Syria. (Four plates; three cuts.)  
Describes a small temple *in antis* with Corinthian columns, dating about A.D. 170.
2. R. C. McMahon: The Technical History of White Lekythi. (Plate; eight cuts.)  
Distinguishes two classes: glaze-paint (earlier) and *matt* colours (later); (the latter alone polychrome); all belong to 5th cent. Studies technique and ornament in connexion with b. f. and r. f. varieties, and attempts a chronological sequence.



3. A. Marquand: The Visitation of Luca della Robbia at Pistoia. (Two plates.)
4. H. H. Harris: Unusual and Unknown Points in Pajarito Park, New Mexico. (Two plates.)
5. C. P. Bowditch: The Work of the Institute in American Archaeology.
6. Proceedings of the Eighth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Jan. 1907.
7. Archaeological News, July-Dec. 1906, *ed.* H. N. Fowler.

#### Ausonia. I. 1906.

1. P. Orsi: New Evidence on pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean Civilisation in Italy. (Four cuts.)  
Publishes a Mycenaean amphora from Girgenti and Mycenaean gold ring from Pantalica, as well as pre-Mycenaean objects from Sicily.
2. D. Comparetti: An Archaic Inscription from Cumae. (Cut.)  
Corrects the reading of an inscription published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 377, so as to make better sense; date about 450 B.C.
3. E. Brizio: The Statue of a Youth from Subiaco and the Chiaramonti Niobid. (Three cuts.)  
Identifies the Subiaco statue as a Niobid, and attributes the Chiaramonti statue to the fourth century (*sc.* the actual work of Scopas).
4. G. Patroni: The Lernaean Hydra. (Plate.)  
Publishes an Attic hydria of about 450-440 B.C. at Naples, with new version of Herakles and the Hydra: it has two heads, and Herakles slays it with a *harpe*; in front is a human head on an altar, suggesting some story of human sacrifices to the monster.
5. P. Ducati: An aryballos in the Berlin Antiquarium. (Six cuts.)  
A late Attic vase with new type of Centauromachia, marked by softness of treatment; must be dated about 370-360 B.C., and vases of the Meidias type correspondingly at end of fifth cent.
6. B. Nogara: The presumed Byblis of Tor Marancia. (Two plates.)  
This painting, apparently a contemporary portrait, erroneously grouped with the five pictures of Greek heroines found in 1817 at Tor Marancia, but was really found in 1810 near Rome.
7. F. Grossi-Gondi: Tomb and Villa of the Furii at Tusculanum.  
Relates discovery in 1901 of the site of the Villa, nearer to the burial-place than previously supposed.
8. P. Toesca: Barbaric objects in the Museum at Lucca. (Two cuts.)
9. L. Ciaccio: The Last Period of Gothic Sculpture at Rome. (Seventeen cuts.)
10. L. Venturi: A 13th cent. representation of Augustus and the Sibyl. (Plate.)
11. R. Lanciani: Unedited records of 16th cent. artists.
12. *Varia.*
13. Discoveries and excavations.
14. Bibliography, Reviews, and Notices.

H. B. W.

### NUMISMATIC.

#### Numismatic Chronicle. Part 4. 1906.

G. F. Hill. *Roman Silver Coins from Grovely Wood, Wills.* The hoard consists of 300 coins (with some silver ornaments), chiefly siliquae, with a few miliarensia. In date the coins range from Constantius II (A.D. 337) to Arcadius (A.D. 408). Hoards of Roman silver coins of this period are not common, and it is remarkable that nearly all have been



discovered in the British Isles. Mommsen supposed that after *circa* 360 A.D. silver was hardly current in the Empire, except in Britain. But, as Mr. Hill points out, the coins in these hoards were struck at a number of non-British Mints (Treves, Lyons, Arles, etc.), and it is highly improbable that they were intended solely for circulation in Britain. The average weight of the siliquae in this hoard is 29.46 grains, the highest weight (perhaps the best guide to the normal weight) is 41 grains. It would seem that the silver coinage of this period consisted of the siliqua (it is doubted whether there was a half-siliqua), the miliarensis, and an exceptional denomination  $\frac{1}{80}$  of the pound.

Part 1. 1907.

P. H. Webb. *The Reign and Coinage of Carausius*. The first part of a monograph on the coins of Carausius. A detailed catalogue of the coins will presumably follow in a later number. The present part contains five plates of coins of Carausius in gold, silver, and bronze; a tabulation, with suggested explanations, of the puzzling letters (R S R etc.) found on the coins and remarks on the coinage generally.—J. R. McClean. *The true meaning of  $\phi$  on the coinage of Magna Graecia*. The writer contends that  $\phi$ ,  $\Pi$ , and other letters usually supposed to be the names of engravers or magistrates occur at too many cities, on coins of too diverse weights and during too long a period for such explanations to be possible. If this contention be admitted by other workers in the field of Italian coinage, Mr. McClean's ingenious proposal to give a non-personal meaning to  $\phi$ , etc. will be welcome. 'The letters  $\phi$ ,  $\Pi$ , A, etc.' (he says) are commonly *marks of value* conveying, certainly in a very clumsy manner, the values relative and absolute of the different coins in contemporary series.' For Mr. McClean's arguments I must refer the reader to his paper, which is however too brief and concise for the nature of the subject. Mr. McClean has sufficiently indicated the nature of his explanation; what is now desirable is a tabulation of the cases where  $\phi$ ,  $\Pi$ , etc. occur, so as to prove his contention that these letters cannot possibly indicate persons and that the mark of value theory can be applied with uniformity.—Mr. G. F. Hill gives a useful summary (p. 111) of the important article on early Roman coinage published by Dr. Haeberlin in 1905, 'Zum Corpus numorum aeris gravis,' etc.

*Rivista italiana di numismatica*. Part 1. 1907.

Among the articles is a note by L. Laffranchi on the coins of Martinianus.—F. Gnechi publishes some curious Roman coins and medallions, the reverses of which have been left blank—'bronzi unilaterali e prove di conio.'

*Journal internat. d'arch. numismatique*. Vol. ix. Parts 1-3. 1906.

As usual, this Journal contains several articles on Byzantine seals and similar objects. M. Konstantopoulos continues his catalogue of the seals of this class in the Athens Museum, but the absence of illustrations is to be regretted, especially in the case of seals which it would be interesting to compare with the coins.—C. Gerojannis. *Primitive shield-devices and coin-types*. Suggests that 'the animal and monstrous representations, as well as the Gorgoneia, occurring on the earliest coins, have [as a rule] (like the same devices on shields and other monuments) 'no mythological or emblematical meaning whatever, but are purely apotropaic in character.'—A. E. Apostolaki. 'Ὀπλιτοδρόμος ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ συμβόλου.—Svoronos has several highly suggestive and indeed rather startling articles (recent lectures at Athens), chiefly on primitive currencies. I must refer the reader to his paper, to which I should be unable to do justice in these short summaries. The bronze objects of axe-like form found in Crete, Cyprus, Mycenae, etc. are maintained to be a primitive currency of Πελέκεις. Some of the well-known circular disks with the spiral ornamentation from Mycenae are identified as the Homeric χρυσοῖο τάλαντα. The iron 'spits' found in the temple of Hera at Argos are claimed to be the ὀβελίσκοι, the primitive



currency superseded by Pheidon. Under the heading Σήκωμα Ἀττικοῦ τετραδράχμου τοῦ Στεφανηφόρου he describes a weight for an Attic tetradrachm with the head of the Stephanephoros.

**Revue belge de numismatique.** Part 2. 1907.

Contains a description, with two plates, by M. D. de Chaufpié of some Greek coins in the J. P. Six collection acquired by the coin-cabinet at the Hague.

**Zeitschrift für numismatik.** Vol. xxvi. Parts 1 and 2. 1907.

J. Hammer. *Der Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen.* Pp. 1-144. A very useful paper on the fineness of ancient coins, bringing together a number of scattered records of analyses and specific gravity.—E. J. Haberlin. *Ein falscher campanischer Barren nebst anderen Falsis.* The bar or 'brick' coin chiefly referred to is one published by Gnecci in *Rivista italiana*, 1906, pp. 143 f., with *obv.* Prow, *rev.* vase.—V. Papen. *Die Spiele von Hierapolis.* On coins relating to the Games (Pythia, Olympia, Aktia and τὰ παρὰ τῇ Χρυσοπόρῳ) that took place at Hierapolis in Phrygia in imperial times. Agonistic types often occur on the 'Homonoia' coins struck by Hierapolis in conjunction with other cities: probably in these cases there was a joint celebration of Games. Reviews by Regling of Hill's *Historical Greek Coins*; Macdonald's *Hunterian Catalogue III* and his *Coin types*.

**Revue numismatique.** Part 4. 1906.

V. Leblond. *Monnaies gauloises recueillies dans l'arrondissement de Clermont (Oise).*—G. Amardel. *Une monnaie gauloise inédite de Narbonne.* *Obv.* Bust and club. *Rev.* Lion running ΒΙΤΟΥΙΟΤΟΥΟ . . . ΒΑΚΙΑΕΥ. Bronze.—J. de Foville. *Les débuts de l'art monétaire en Sicile.* On the artistic style of the most archaic coinages of Sicily, viz. those of Zancle, Naxos, Syracuse, Himera, Selinus. The coin of Naxos representing a Dionysos with a pointed beard betrays the hand of a sculptor in wood, and other archaic coins of Sicily seem to be the productions of a sculptor rather than of a die-engraver. The archaic coin with a legend equivalent to ΣΕΡ, type, standing Dionysos, usually attributed to Italy, is claimed for Sicily and assigned to the town of Sergentium, which was near Aetna and not far from Naxos, the early coins of which [this coin resembles.—M. C. Soutzo. *Les Monnaies de la flotte de Marc-Antoine avec marques de valeur.*—R. Mowat. *Exemples de l'art de vérifier les dates par les contremarques: Massilia.*—*Mélanges*, etc.—E. Babelon on La trouvaille de Helleville.

Part 1. 1907.

E. Babelon. *La stylis sur les monnaies.* Babelon in an elaborate and well-illustrated article maintains his view (against Assmann) that the cruciform object held by Victory on the gold staters of Alexander the Great (and on other coins) is the *stylis*. The *stylis*, which was the support of the *aphlasta* (aplustre), or, sometimes, the staff of the ship's flag, was used as a maritime emblem signifying naval victory.—J. A. Blanchet on counter-marked coins.—R. Mowat on counter-marked coins of Cossura.—Froehner, *Philologie monétaire.* On a rare coin of Selinus on which the name of the river god Hypsas is written ΗΥΤΑΣ instead of ΗΥΨΑΣ. The letter Τ appears also on the coins of Mesembria, where it is equivalent to Σ or to Ψ.

WARWICK WROTH.

# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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## SOME GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI IN ABERDEEN MUSEUM.

I DO not think that it is at all generally known that among the Egyptian antiquities given by Grant Bey to the Museum at Aberdeen there are a considerable number of papyrus fragments, Greek, Coptic,<sup>1</sup> Hieratic, Demotic, and even Latin and Arabic, which except for an inspection by Prof. Sayce and a passing visit of Dr. Grenfell have up till now been left unexamined. That indeed is my only reason for trespassing in a branch of Palaeography with which I am quite unfamiliar; and it is in the hope of inciting some experienced papyrologist to turn his attention to them that I publish the following [fragments. In the case of the Greek fragments lack of time combined with a mistrust of my powers of deciphering the more illegible non-literary hands forbade me do more than select the most promising literary fragments. Among these Homer naturally predominates; but the gem of the collection is a lyric fragment, which may fairly certainly be ascribed to Alcaeus, though Dr. Grenfell who first noticed it attributed it to Sappho. A fragment of Demosthenes, a fragment of Dioscorides, and a vellum fragment of a Latin Bible, were the only others which I succeeded in identifying; but these, with the few tragic, comic, and medical fragments which I also reproduce, are, I think, first-fruits sufficient to show that the crop would not be barren, if it found a competent gleaner.

For the rest I leave the fragments to speak for themselves; premising only that I have not ventured to assign dates to them.

I begin with the Homeric fragments, filling up the lines and recording variants from the new Oxford Text of Homer.

<sup>1</sup> The Coptic fragments I examined, and found that, with the exception of one Achmimic fragment already

known to specialists, they are too small and ill preserved to be of any value.



(1) *Il.* ii. 687-695.

[ου γαρ εην οστις σφιν ε]πι στιχας [ηγησαιο]  
 [κειτο γαρ εν νηεσσι] ποδαρκης [διος Αχιλλευσ]  
 [κουρης χωομενος Β]ρισηϊδος [ηυκομοιο]  
 [την εκ Λυρνησσου ε]ξειλετο πο[λλα μογησας]  
 [Λυρνησσον διαπορ]θησας και τε[ιχεα Θηβης]  
 [καδ δε Μυνητ εβ]αλον και Επισ[τροφον εγγεσιμωρους]  
 [υιεας Ευηνοιο Σελ]ηπιαδαθ α[νακτος]  
 [της ο γε κειτ αχ]εω· ν· ταχα δε α[νστησεσθαι εμελλεν]  
 [οι δ ειχον Φυλακην] και Πυρασ[ον ανθεμοεντα]

1. 692 ἔβαλεν. 693 Σεληπιάδαο. 694 τάχα δ'.

(2) *Il.* ii. 760-778.

[ουτοι αρ ηγεμονες] Δαναων κ[αι κοιρανοι ησαν]  
 [τις τ αρ των οχ]αρι[στος εην συ μ]οι εννεπε, μουσα]  
 [αυτων ηδ ιππων] οι αμ Ατρειδησ[ιν εποντο]  
 [ιπποι μεν μεγ]αρισται εσαν Φηρη[τιαδαο]  
 [τας Ευμηλος ελαυνε] ποδωκεας ορν[ιθας ως]  
 [οτριχας οιετεας στα]φυλη επι νωτ[ον εισας]  
 [τας εν Πηρειη θρεψ]αργυροτοξος Ατ[ολλων]  
 [αμφω θηλειας φοβον] Αρης φορεο[υσας]  
 [ανδρων αυ μεγ αριστος εην] Τελαμ[ωνιος Αιας]  
 [οφρ Αχιλευς μηνιεν· ο γαρ] πολυ φερ[τατος ηεν]  
 [ιπποι θ οι φορεεσκον αμν]μονα Πη[λειωνα]  
 [αλλ ο μεν εν νηεσσι κορω]νισι πον[τοποροισι]  
 [κειτ απομηνισας Αγαμε]μνονι π[οιμενι λαων]  
 [Ατρειδη λαοι δε παρα ρηγ]μεινι θαλ[ασσης]  
 [δισκοισιν τερποντο και α]ιγανεισ[ιν ιεντες]  
 [τοξοισιν θ· ιπποι δε παρ αρ]μασιν οϊσι[ν εκαστος]  
 [λωτον ερεπτομενοι ελ]εοθρεπ[τον τε σελινον]  
 [εστασαν αρματα δ ευ πεπ]υκ[ασμενα κειτο ανακτων]  
 [εν κλισιης· οι δ αρχον αρηι]φιλογ [ποθεοντες]

1. 773 ῥηγμῖνι.

(3) *Il.* iv. 199-211.

[βη δ ι]ε[ναι κατα λαον Αχαιων χαλκοχιτωνων]  
 [παπ]ται[νων ηρωα Μαχαονα· τον δ ενοησεν]  
 [εσταο]τ· α[μφι δε μιν κρατεραι στιχες ασπισταων]  
 [λαω]ν· οι οι [εποντο Τρικης εξ ιπποβοτοιο]  
 [αγχου δ [ισταμενος επεα πτεροεντα προσηυδα]  
 ρρσ Ασκ[ληπιαδη καλεει κρειων Αγαμεμνων]

οφρα ιδ[ης Μενελαον αρχιον αρχον Αχαιων  
 ον τις ο[ιστευσας εβαλεν τοξων ευ ειδως]  
 Τρωων [η Λυκιων τω μεν κλεος αμμι δε πενθος]  
 ως φατ[ο τω δ αρα θυμον ενι στηθεσσιν ορινε]  
 βαν τ με[ναι καθ ομιλον ανα στρατον ευρυν Αχαιων]  
 άλλ οδ [δη ρ ικανον οθι ξανθος Μενελαος]  
 β[λη]μ[ενος ην περι δ αυτον αγγεραθ οσσοι αριστοι]

211 βὰν δ' ἰέναι. 212 ἀλλ' ὅτε.

Of the letters on the first three lines I am very uncertain. Parallel with ll. 209-210 the letters ρς, apparently the end of a line of the preceding column, are visible on the left side of the fragment.

(4) *Il.* vii. 60-68.

[φήγω εφ υψηλη] πατρο[ς Διος αιγιοχοιο]  
 [ανδρασι τερπο]μενοι [των δε στιχες ηατο πυκναι]  
 [ασπισι και κορυ]θεσσι και εγχ[εσι πεφρικυιαι]  
 [οιη δε Ζεφυροι]ο εχευατο [ποντον επι φριξ]  
 [ορνυμενοιο νε]ον μελα[νει δε τε ποντος υπ αυτης]  
 [τοιαι αρα στιχες η]ατ' Αχαιω[ν τε Τρωων τε]  
 [εν πεδιω Εκτ]ωρ δε με[τ αμφοτεροισιν εειπε]  
 [κεκλυτε μεν Τρωες] και εχ[κνημιδες Αχαιοι]  
 [οφρ ειπω τα με θ]υμος ε[νι στηθεσσι κελευει]

(5) *Il.* ix. 356-378. The column is complete at the top.

[νυν δ επει ουκ εθελω] πολεμ[ιζεμεν Εκτορι διω]  
 [αυριον ιρα Δι ρεξ]ας κ[αι πασι θεοισι]  
 [νηησας ευ νηας επ]ην α[λαδε προερυσσω]  
 [οψεαι αι κ εβελησθα] και αι [κεν τοι τα μεμνηη]  
 [ηρι μαλ Ελλησποντ]ον επ [ιχθυοεντα πλεουσας]  
 [νηας εμας εν . . . .]σιν ερρε[σεμεναι μεμαωτας]  
 [ει δε κεν ευπλοιην] δοιεν [κλυτος Εινυσιγαιος]  
 [ηματι κε τριτατω Φ]θειην [εριβωλον ικοιμην]  
 [εστι δε μοι μα]λα πολλα τ[α καλλιπον ενθαδε ερρων]  
 [αλλον δ ενθε]νδε χρυσον [και χαλκον ερυθρον]  
 [ηδε γυναικα]ς ευζωνους [πολιον τε σιδηρον]  
 [αξομαι ασσ] ελαχόν γε γερα[ς δε μοι ος περ εδωκεν]  
 [αυτις εφυβ]ριζων ελετο κ[ρειων Αγαμεμνων]  
 [Ατρειδης τ]ω παντὰ αγορευ[εμεν ως επιτελλω]  
 [αμφαδον ο]φρα και α[λλοι επισκυζονται Αχαιοι]  
 [ει τινα που] Δανῶν ετ[ι ελπεται εξαπτησειν]  
 [αιεν αναιδ]ειην επ[ιειμενος ουδ αν εμοιγε]  
 [τετλαιη κυν]εος περ[εων εις ωπα ιδεσθαι]



[ουδε τι οι βουλ]ας συμφρασ[σομαι ουδε μιν εργον]  
 [εκ γαρ δη μ α]πατησε κα[ι ηλιτεν ουδ αν ετ αυτις]  
 [εξαπαφοιτ ε]πεεσσιν α[λις δε οι αλλα εκηλος]  
 [ερρετω εκ γ]αρ με[υ φρενας ειλετο μητιετα Ζευς]  
 [εχθρα δε . .] ιρ του [δωρα τιω δε μιν εν καρος αιση]

l. 361 ἐν δ' ἄνδρας. 362 δῶν. 363 Φθίην. 369 πάντ' ἀγορευέμεν. 377 ἐκ γὰρ εὖ. 378 δέ μοι τοῦ.

(6) *Il.* xxi. 1-26.

[αλλ οτε δη πορον ιξον ευρρει]ος ποταμο[ιο  
 [Ξανθου δινηεντος ον αθαν]ατος τεκετο Ζ[ευ]ς  
 [ενθα διατμηξας τους με]ν πεδιογδε διωκε  
 [προς πολιν ηπερ Αχαιοι α]τυζομενοι φοβεοντο  
 [ηματι τω προτερω οτε μαι]νετο αιδιμος Εκτωρ  
 [τη ρ οι γε προχεοντο πεφυζοτ]ες ηερα δ ηρη  
 [πιτνα προσθε βαθειαν ερυκ]εμεν ημισυνες δε  
 [ες ποταμον ειλευντο βαθ]υρροον αργυροδινην  
 [εν δ επεσον μεγαλω πα]ταγω βραχε δ αιπα ρεεθρ[α]  
 [οχθαι δ αμφι περι μεγαλ ια]χρον οι δ αλαλητω  
 [εννεον ενθα και ενθα ελισ]σομενοι κατα δινας  
 [ως δ οθ υπο ριπης πυρος] ακριδες ηερεθονται  
 [φευγεμεναι ποταμονδ]ε το δε φλεγει ακαμ[ατον πυρ]  
 [ορμενον εξαιφνης ται δε πτ]ωσσουι καθ υδωρ  
 [ως υπ Αχιλλης Ξανθου] βαθυδινηεντος  
 [πλητο ροος κελαδων επι]μιξ ιππων τε και ανδρ[ων  
 [αυταρ ο διογενης δορυ μεν λι]πεν αυτου οπισθε  
 [κεκλιμενον μυρικησιν ο δ εσθορ]ε δαιμονι ισος  
 [φασγανον οιον εχων κακα δε] φρεσι μηδετο εργα  
 [τυπτε δ επιστροφαδην των δε σ]τονος φρνυτ αεικης  
 [αορι θεινομενων ερυθαινετο δ α]ιματι υδωρ  
 [ως δ υπο δελφινος μεγακητεο]ς ιχθύες [αλλοι]  
 [φευγοντες πιμπλασι μυχους λιμ]ενος ευ[ορμου]

The few letters of the next three lines (23-25) are so illegible that I could make nothing of them ; but *ιρων* (ἐναίρων) is clearly visible at the the end of l. 26.

l. 7 ἡμίσεες. 11 περὶ δίνας. 17 αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ὄχθη. The word *οπισθε* is corrected to *εποχθη* in the papyrus.

(7) *Il.* xxi. 58-65, omitting l. 63.

[Λημνον ες ηγαθειν πεπερημενος ουδε μιν] εσχε  
 [ποντος αλος πολιης ο πολεας αεκοντας ερυκ]ε[ι]  
 [αλλ αγε δη και δουρος ακωκης ημετερο]ιο  
 [γευσεται οφρα ιδωμαι ενι φρεσιν ηδε δ]αιψ

[η αρ ομως και κειθεν ελευσεται η μι]ν ερυξει  
 [ως ωρμαινε μενων· ο δε οι σχεδον ηλθε τ]εθηπως  
 [γουνων αφασθαλ μεμαως περι δ ηθελε θυ]μω

A letter at the end of line 66 is also visible under the  $\mu$  of  $\theta\upsilon\mu\omega$ . In my copy it is  $\epsilon$  (?), but that can hardly be right.

(8) *Il.* xxii. 265–272.

[ως ουκ εστ εμε κ]αι σε [φιλημεναι ουδε τι νωιν]  
 [ορκια εσσουνται] πριν η [ετερον γε πεσουντα]  
 [αιματος ασαι Αρη]α ταλα[υρινον πολεμιστην]  
 [παντοιης αρετη]ς μιμ[νησκειο· νυν σε μαλα χρη]  
 [αιχημητην τ ε]μεναι και [θαρσαλεον πολεμιστην]  
 [ουτοι ετ εσ]θ υπαλυξις α[φαρ δε σε Παλλας Αθηνη]  
 [εγχει εμω δαμα]α νυν δ [αθροα παντ αποτεισεις]  
 [κηδε εμων ετ]αρων ους [εκτανες εγχει θυων]

1. 266 *πρίν γ' ἤ.*

Besides these undoubtedly Homeric fragments there is also one containing the names of Odysseus and Athene, which I have not succeeded in identifying. It is possibly part of a commentary on the Homeric poems.

φ . .

ετοιμα  
 ναετο  
 ροδυσσ  
 ιοςσκυ  
 αγενητ  
 αθηνα  
 . ριου . .  
 μεταθυ  
 οσε

δεδ  
 δε  
 εξω  
 ετ  
 λην

The two spaces I have left are blank in the papyrus.

Of the other Greek fragments the most interesting is a fragment<sup>1</sup> of a lyric poem, which may safely be attributed to Alcaeus. This has already been

<sup>1</sup> M. Reinach is wrong in calling it 'deux lambeaux': it is really one, though almost severed into two.





The following too has a comic appearance.

καινυνισ[ως  
 .οτικαρδιας  
 βαβαιδιουκα  
 .ποσε.  
 λογους  
 .οπερρνε  
 σησοστοα  
 στρ]ατηγος.  
 ηχθηναιθελ.  
 τωνχρονω[ν  
 φρισαι. εξετ  
 .ουμειζων  
 .καταλαβητ  
 μεταταυτ[α

Fragments of three more lines, the last in a smaller writing, are visible; and beneath that the bottom of the column is blank.

Of the Greek prose fragments I have only succeeded in identifying two. One is a frag. of Demosthenes 20 § 88.

]νμεινταςτ[εναυσοσας]  
 [ελα]βενκαιου ε[καστην]  
 [καιτ]ων πολεων[τοναρι]  
 [θμο]νκαιτων[χρηματων]  
 [τοπλη]θοσκ[αιτωντρο]  
 [παιωνο]νεκ[αστον]

1. I γεγραμμένοι ὑμῖν ed.

The other is a better preserved fragment of Dioscorides *περὶ ὕλης ἰατρ.* 3. 136–137, on the herbs ἡδύσαρον and ὄνοσμα.

[..... πι]κρονγευ  
 [σα]με[ν]ωευστο]μαχονποθεν  
 [μ]ειγνυταιδεκαιαντιδοτοις  
 [σ]υμμελιτιδεπροστεθενμει  
 [ξ]εωσατοκειν ειναιδοκειφυε  
 [τ]αιδεενκρειθαις  
 [.]μαοιδενομιανοιδεφλονει  
 [τ]ηνοιδεονωνινκαλουσινφυλ  
 [λ]αεχειομοιατοιστηςαγχους  
 [η]σεστινδεακα[ν]θωδξ]αναν  
 [θ]ηςριζι[ονε]στ[ιν].....]



l. 4 προστεθὲν πρὸ τῆς μίξεως ed.

l. 6 ἐν κριθαῖς καὶ πυροῖς ed.

l. 7 ὄνοσμα ed.; but there does not seem room for it here, and the added ι indicates rather a feminine subs.

The text of the second paragraph is quite different from that of Spengel, who reads ὄνοσμα, οἱ δὲ ὁσμάδα, οἱ δὲ φλονῖτιν, οἱ δὲ ὄνωνιν καλοῦσι, τὰ μὲν φύλλα ἔχει ὅμοια τοῖς τῆς ἀγγούσης, προμήκη, μαλακά, ὡς τετραδάκτυλα τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δὲ πλάτος δακτύλου, ἐπὶ γῆς κατεστρωμένα. ἐμφερέστατα τοῖς τῆς ἀγγούσης, καὶ ὁ καυλός, καὶ ὁ καρπός, καὶ τὰ ἄνθη. ῥίζιον δὲ ὕπεστιν ὑπόμηκες, ἀσθενές, λεπτόν, ἐνερευθὲς ἡσυχή. φύεται δὲ ἐν τραχέσι τόποις.

Several others obviously come from medical works, among them one of the largest but unfortunately—in parts at any rate—least legible of the fragments: I transcribe the more legible part of it, omitting some six lines at the top of the second column and two at the top of the first as only a letter here and there is visible and those very uncertainly. The papyrus is incomplete on all four sides.

|                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| ..... τηνσυνεχη       |                         |
| νσωματως              |                         |
| ... α ... π           |                         |
| ... ηνρηαι            |                         |
| καιτητροφηα           |                         |
| δηλουσαπ .            |                         |
| ισυνεξιριγ            |                         |
| ναποτηστρω            | κ . . . . ν . ωνηδυσπε  |
| καιδιατουτο           | ημηδειατωσωματι .       |
| εακρριοναπ . .        | των . . . . λαβοντιδε . |
| ... π . . μα          | χυ . . . . υσδιαφορητ   |
| . ενησεγενο           | ματ . . . τκρισιουσα    |
| καταλυωδεκεκα         | πνευματοστονον—         |
| κιμετευκιν . ηας      | . . ετμενοσταχουςως     |
| στωνμερωνσυν          | ματιεφων . . . ινεθος   |
| . σετοπασασε . . τε . | θηματιεν . . . . κατα   |
| ομε . ουπολλουκαι     | υγαινοντων . . . εα     |
| ατοςμετευχροας        | . . ωραιςχρωμ . . διατ  |
| ειπ[α]θουσεπιτη       | ψυξεις . . . τα .       |
| πνιγομενοισπω         | ασθeneιαστων . . .      |
| ον . ν . . . τακοπευ  | τον . . . . δρος        |
| γιζομενοισας          | . μονμητετον            |
| ισφθινωδε             | . ειנד . ναμεν          |
| κα . . . . ρει        | . με . . . καικρυωδει   |
| ... ατασεκτω          | ανινδετων               |
| ... . . . . αια       | ραςεπιτηδε              |
|                       | φευγομε                 |

Another slightly more legible but smaller is the following, which is also incomplete on all four sides.

αινεκα  
 ατουνδατοσφ  
 . . . πημαρχα .  
 α . . ο . εμειξον  
 νσκατουλωταμιλ<sup>τ</sup>  
 δοσιςβσχιστηςΙ<sup>τ</sup>η  
 . αινεταυταμε .  
 γασμισγε—  
 . αιακαιδυσκα  
 ασφαλτου  
 σχαλκουδμ  
 σδμυρσινουλ . . . μ .  
 πκιγδιακαδμεια  
 . επιδοσλα<sup>τ</sup>κδοσιν  
 . πευκινησλ<sup>τ</sup>γμν  
 . ριανου  
 . . . κηρουη . . . μ  
 στεα .

Of the remaining Greek fragments I will only mention one or two of the more interesting. The following small text from the bottom of a page looks very like Demosthenes or some other orator, but I have not been able to find it.

λονοι  
 στρατιαν  
 πνιαθλη  
 τωῦβρι  
 οιδεμηα  
 υ]ποδικοσε

One small fragment appears to come from some Christian work, if the suggested restitution of l. 2 is right. It is incomplete on all sides, and had writing in the same hand, I think, on the verso, as at the ends of the two lines εν and οι are visible there.

τοιςγον[εσι  
 Ιωαννη]σουνβαπ[τιζων  
 ηεανμεν  
 τ]ηναυτουφ[υλην  
 ηκρατη  
 εξη . ηα

l. 2 one might also suggest Ιη]σουν instead of Ιωαννη]σουν ; and βαπ[τιζει instead of βαπ[τιζων.



For the rest, technical terms occasionally give a clue to the class of literature to which they belong: for example, one fragment, too small to be worth reproducing may be assigned to some physical philosopher, as it contains the phrases [τ]οῦ ὑγροῦ, τοῦ θερμοῦ, [ἐν] or [συν]εργικόν, and [τ]οῦ ὑλικοῦ; another obviously treats of astrology or astronomy,—διὰ τῶν ἄρκτων and other technical terms occur in it; a third begins διαφέρει μὲν ὥδῃ and contains the word [φρ]ύγειον and other metrical terms, which leave no doubt that it is from a metrical treatise. Probably examples from poetry were quoted in it as the word βελόνη occurs.

A noticeable feature of the collection is that besides Greek it contains also eight Latin fragments, unfortunately all as fragmentary as the Greek.

One of them is a parchment fragment in neatly written small rustic capitals. The text is John VII. 27-8 and 30-31. The presence of Eusebian canons in the margin is worth remarking.

IT N[EMO SCIT UN]  
DE SIT  
LXXVI CLAMABAT E[RGO IHS]  
III CXII DOCENS IN TEM[PLO]  
C...

*Verso.*

NO]NDUM VEN  
[ER]AT HORA EIUS.  
D]E TURBA AUTE

The other Latin fragments are all papyrus. Several of them are obviously literary, as the writing proves. The following small fragment, for instance, is also in rustic capitals, and is remarkable palaeographically for the length of the letter e in the second line, and i in the last, both of which extend far above the other letters. It is the bottom of a page incomplete on both sides and at the top.

QUIDM  
DERAT  
HVME  
·RAIN

The next is written in a literary form of old Roman cursive; but is too fragmentary for me to make any suggestion as to its character. The beginnings of the lines are preserved; but it is incomplete at top and bottom and on the right.

fueritq  
r̄ittitē  
p̄a . . . a .  
ab[o]mni[bus . .  
tussumā  
etiamsta  
exītdate

idemeff[ci  
 n fit. mā  
 . . . t  
 . . n

l. 2 ri might be n. l. 5 a might be b or d.

In the following again the writing is a literary cursive. The place-names Tenedon and a Delph[is] are noticeable. It is incomplete on all sides: fragments of four lines are visible below those here reproduced, but the letters were too uncertain for me to attempt to copy them.

. arso t .  
 aturum  
 tenedon  
 es . noni  
 . e uaca  
 quaesunt  
 . . . . .  
 dum  
 quesu  
 bus . et  
 tam .  
 adelph[is]

l. 3 I owe the reading Tenedon to Prof. Lindsay, who kindly looked at several of the Latin papyri for me. My own copy gave Tendun; but ne is ligatured (NE).

One of the others seems to consist mainly of proper names: the beginning of the lines is preserved, and the irregularity of the second, which begins further to the right than the others, points either to a list or epitome of some kind. The hand is rustic capital.

LGA .  
 LO  
 . CPUN  
 . SEREN

Another pronounced cursive is clearly a deed connected with one [Val]erius Albanus who is mentioned in the first line, and referring to a payment as the phrase 'a te pensionem primam' shows. The rest of it, so far as I can make it out, seems to consist mostly of numerals, but it and the other Latin fragments are too fragmentary to be worth reproducing. One of them consists of practically nothing but the name Heliopol(is or -itanus).

E. O. WINSTEDT.



## THE IDLE ACTOR IN AESCHYLUS.

IN the *Niobe* of Aeschylus, Niobe, we are told, ἕως τρίτης ἡμέρας (corr. by Vict. to τρίτου μέρους) ἐπικαθημένη τῷ τάφῳ τῶν παίδων οὐδὲν φθέγγεται ἐπικεκαλυμμένη. So in the *Ransom of Hector*, otherwise known as the *Phrygians*, Ἀχιλλεὺς ὁμοίως ἐγκεκαλυμένος οὐ φθέγγεται πλὴν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὀλίγα πρὸς Ἑρμῇ ἀμοιβαῖα (*Vita Aesch.*<sup>1</sup>).

In the famous 'contest-scene' of the *Frogs*, these instances are held up for ridicule by Euripides, who charges his opponent with having introduced such periods of silence for the purpose of giving a heightened effect to an actor's words when finally he speaks :

Δι. τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδρασ' ὁ δεῖνα ;  
 Εὐρ. ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας, ἵν' ὁ θεατῆς προσδοκῶν καθῆτο  
 ὀπόθ' ἢ Νιόβη τι φθέγγετο τὸ δρᾶμα δ' ἂν διήει.  
 Δι. ὦ παμπόνηρος, οἷ' ἂρ' ἐφενακίζομην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.—*Frogs* 918 sqq.

This view seems to be shared also by the author of the *Vita Aesch.*, who cites these instances in illustration of his remark that Aeschylus μόνον γὰρ ζηλοῖ τὸ βάρος περιτιθέναι τοῖς προσώποις. In a somewhat similar vein the Scholiast (M) on *Prometheus* 436 comments: σιωπῶσι παρὰ ποιηταῖς τὰ πρόσωπα, ἢ δι' αὐθάδειαν, ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν τοῖς Φρυγί Σοφοκλέους (evidently a slip for Αἰσχύλου), ἢ διὰ τὴν συμφοράν, ὡς ἢ Νιόβη παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ, κτλ. Eustathius goes farther and suggests that Aeschylus in such cases was imitating Homer: ὅπερ καὶ Αἰσχύλος μιμησάμενος τὴν τε Νιόβην καὶ ἄλλα πρόσωπα ὁμοίως ἐσχημάτισε, κτλ. (On *Il.* 24-162)

In view of the evident fondness of the poet for scenes of an imposing or startling character and his boldness in devising spectacular effects, these statements have passed virtually unchallenged. Recently, however, a different reason for the silence of actors in Aeschylus has been propounded:<sup>2</sup> that 'all instances of the idle actor originated not in the striving after exaggerated effect, but in the obstacles opposed by conditions to the rise of the drama' (p. 43); 'were due' that is, 'to material limitations and to the restrictions of tradition' (p. 7).

<sup>1</sup> See also Ar. *Frogs* 911 sqq., with scholia ;  
 scholia on *Prom.* 440 ; Eust. Comm. on Homer, *Od.*  
 23, 115, *Il.* 24, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Frank W. Dignán, *The Idle Actor in Aeschylus*,  
 Diss., Chicago, 1905.



By the former we are to understand the difficulties occasioned by the crude arrangement of the earlier Aeschylean theatre, of which the chief drawback supposedly lay in the awkwardness of entrance and exit. For as the dressing-booth stood, presumably, at the *outer* end of one of the *parodoi*, a considerable amount of time would be consumed by an actor in coming and going, and the finding of suitable pretexts for such movements rendered difficult (p. 13). For example, in the *Septem*, we are told, Eteocles 'for lack of a place of withdrawal must stand idle through the *parodos*' (p. 30), because the poet could not remove him 'without inventing a pretext for his departure that would have been more awkward than his presence without occupation' (p. 20). So in the *Suppliants* 'had there been a temple in the background, or a palace, Danaus might have withdrawn at frequent intervals into that. But the town lies at a distance, and only an important errand can take him thither' (p. 16).

By 'restraints of tradition' are meant the restraints imposed by the early prominence of the chorus, and by the preference for two-part dialogue. Their effect is shown clearly in the *Suppliants*, and also in the *Persians*, when both the messenger and the ghost of Darius address themselves first to the chorus, to the momentary neglect of the queen.

By the application of such tests as these to each instance in the extant plays of Aeschylus, in which an actor is 'idle,' *i.e.*, neither speaks nor is addressed, for twenty lines or more (p. 14), the conclusion is reached 'that, while there are a number of striking cases of the idle actor, not one was introduced as a dramatic device, such as The Euripides of Aristophanes professed to see in the *Phrygians* and the *Niobe*' (p. 31). Achilles and Niobe remained silent 'for the reason that the poet did not know what else to do with them. Hampered by tradition, by material disadvantages and the immaturity of his art, he was forced to do not what he would, but what he could' (p. 43).

This conclusion, though at first glance plausible, challenges investigation. For it raises the larger question of the legitimate limits of such methods of inquiry in the field of literary interpretation. In this particular case, at any rate, it is easy to show that, owing largely to the inadequacy of the test applied, the argument has failed to establish the point which it set out to prove. For, though it is admitted that the gibes of the comic poet must have been directed against 'a general trait in the work of Aeschylus as *distinguished* (the italics are my own)<sup>1</sup> from that of Euripides' (p. 8), the fact is disclosed that the number of 'idle' lines in the extant plays of Euripides form 'a slightly larger proportion than in Aeschylus, and about the same as in Sophocles' (p. 39)! What then becomes of this distinguishing trait, which Aristophanes ridicules?

Manifestly, such 'idle lines' are not peculiar to any one dramatist, but are characteristic of Greek tragedy throughout its history, and are no doubt occasioned,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dignan emphasizes, rather, the idea that the trait must be *general*, 'for the passage,' he says, 'would be pointless unless the instances mentioned

were typical.' Even admitting this, it does not invalidate the argument as presented in the text.



to a large degree, by such restraints as the restriction in the number of speaking parts and the presence of the chorus. But the question with which the discussion began, whether Aeschylus deliberately introduced silence for the sake of effect, remains at the end still without a satisfactory answer; and chiefly for the reason that the argument has ignored the profoundly important element of the *freedom of choice* exercised by the poet in the selection and building of his plots. By neglecting to give due consideration to this, the artist's prerogative, every such attempt to explain the form of the work of art is certain to result in failure. The bold, spontaneous movements of the creative spirit refuse to be thus trammelled, and defy calculation:—a truth which the study of the more external aspects of philology and literature should never be permitted to obscure.

To say, for example, that in the *Suppliants* Aeschylus was forced by the inconveniences of a crude theatre to 'evolve a simple situation—the suppliants at the altar,' and that it was, therefore, 'impossible to remove Danaus as often as dramatic propriety requires' (p. 30), appears in the light of these considerations to be but a half-truth. While it is undeniable that in this, the earliest extant drama, the motiving is laboured and the long silence of Danaus highly inartistic, a comparison with the *Oedipus Coloneus* suggests that these faults may not be so largely attributable to an undeveloped theatre as we are asked to believe. For can this be the reason for the long silence of Oedipus and of Antigone in the latter play? Sophocles had ample scenic equipment at his disposal. They were due, rather, as Dr. Dignan himself sees, 'chiefly to the simple fact that the scene is not laid before a building,' and also to the fact that 'Antigone, as her father's constant attendant, is likewise (*i.e.* like her father) tied to the spot' (p. 35). In other words, the phenomenon in this play arises from the plot; and, to reverse the statement quoted above, the poet having selected a plot involving a simple situation, has accepted a simple setting.

So in the *Suppliants* of Euripides, it is the selection of the situation, the suppliants at the altar, rather than any limitation imposed by primitive conditions, which determines much of the technique of the play.

Aeschylus, however, it may be replied, had no choice but to adopt such a plot for his *Suppliants*. This may be true in this particular case, without, however, invalidating the principle at stake. Still, in view of the great number of Aeschylean plays that have perished, we must remind ourselves that four plays—*i.e.* the four earliest extant plays, no one of which chances to require a building as back-scene—afford rather slender evidence from which to conclude that the background of temple or palace or tent had not yet been introduced when these were written. In the *Persians* the setting is a tomb; but so is it also in the first part of the *Choephoroi*.<sup>1</sup> In the *Suppliants* it is an open space with an altar, so in the *Oed. Col.* only a grove of trees. Besides, we must not lose sight of the fact that it is pure assumption that places the dressing-booth, even at this early period, at the *outer*

<sup>1</sup> See Tucker's *Choephoroi*, pp. xxxiii f.



end of one of the side passages.<sup>1</sup> Where it stood is not known; and the distance from orchestra to dressing-tent may have been much less than is imagined.

But even accepting the supposition for argument's sake, it is difficult to see how such material limitations could be held responsible for the silence of Achilles in the *Phrygians*. For by the author's own admission<sup>2</sup>, the background in that play must have contained a tent or other dwelling. Why then, if there was at hand so convenient a place for retirement, did the poet permit the hero to remain seated and veiled and silent? It is hard to resist the conclusion that it was due to deliberate choice on the part of the poet; and if so, for what other reason than that he considered the effect desirable?

So in the *Agamemnon*, the silence of Cassandra may not be charged either to the limitations imposed by the theatre, or to the preference for two-part dialogue. 'That Cassandra,' we are told, 'should enter with Agamemnon, and be obliged to wait so long, seems a survival of early stiffness, the possibility of easy movement not yet being fully grasped' (pp. 30 f.). But under the circumstances given, what 'possibility of easy movement' is there? Should Cassandra, the captive slave, interrupt the greetings of the king and queen? Should she be received into the palace before her master himself? Not at all; she must wait her turn, and wait, too, in submissive silence as becomes her position. Even on the modern stage it is difficult to see how such a situation could be handled in a manner essentially different. One may say, perhaps, that the silence 'was forced on the poet by the conditions,' but, we would add, by the conditions of the plot. Cassandra could easily have been omitted from the play, but at what a tremendous sacrifice!

Aeschylus may not, indeed, in this case have invented the silence as a dramatic device; but he alone was responsible for the insertion of the scene. And in view of the brilliant and resourceful genius of the poet, what more natural than to suppose that in some cases he may actually have tried the experiment of introducing silence solely for the sake of effect? Indeed, this is suggested even in the present instance by the obstinate refusal of Cassandra to answer the invitation and entreaties of the queen and chorus—a wonderful stroke, by which the poet enhances the effect of her frenzied outcries. Furthermore, just as in the *Electra* of Sophocles, the presence of Electra during the long recital by the messenger of the death of Orestes is excused on the ground that his 'story is really for her ear as well as for Clytemnestra's' (p. 33), so the presence of Cassandra, whose prophetic frenzy is immediately occasioned by witnessing the greetings of her master and his faithless queen, is dramatically justifiable, if not essential to the scene that follows.

Again in the *Eumenides* the long silences of Orestes, Athena, and Apollo are due entirely to the nature of the plot, which in this case centres about the trial of Orestes. In any trial scene the method of treatment must be essentially the same:

<sup>1</sup> In this Dr. Dignan follows Reisch: Dörpfeld u. des Aisch., *Hermes*, xxi. S. 612; Reisch, *op. cit.* S. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Page 13 footnote: So Wilamowitz, 'Die Bühne



as, for example, in that of the *Merchant of Venice*, in which the Duke, as judge, remains silent for some 213 lines, and Antonio, the prisoner, for about 325 lines. The silence is inherent in the situation—forced upon the poet, if one will have it so, by the circumstances of the scene. But for the choice of the scene he alone is responsible.

The silences of the *Eumenides*, therefore, like that of the *Agamemnon*, afford no evidence whatever to show what the poet may have done when handling an entirely different problem. Moreover, just as it would be absurd to ascribe the silence of Antonio and the Duke to Shakespeare's inability to keep the whole number of actors employed, so it is manifestly a mistake to cite this scene of the *Eumenides* as illustrating the alleged difficulty which Aeschylus encountered in trying to keep three actors employed at once (p. 29). Quite as little warrant, also, is there for citing the silence of Cassandra in this connection (p. 29).

There seems to be, therefore, little support<sup>1</sup> for the conclusion that 'the analogy of extant scenes suggests that' Achilles and Niobe were shown as silent figures because 'the poet did not know what else to do with them' (p. 43). On the contrary, in view of the bold ingenuity of the poet in devising spectacular effects, it remains not merely a possibility but a probability that these and, perhaps, other characters also were so represented for the sake of the picture, though not necessarily for the purpose suggested by Aristophanes, to exaggerate the effect of the actor's words. Indeed it seems more than likely that Eustathius—basing his remark, doubtless, upon some earlier source, now lost—was right when he stated that Aeschylus, in such scenes, was imitating Homer.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> With regard to the *Choephori* I do not agree with Dr. Dignan when he thinks that Electra sits on the step of the altar during the parodos. That the vase paintings which represent her in this attitude do not refer to this particular scene is shown by the presence of Orestes in them. Tucker (*op. cit.* p. 14) supposes that the absence of anapaests indicates that the ode was not sung until the chorus reached the orchestra. But the parodos of the *Oed. Tyr.* has no anapaests: yet no one supposes, so far as I know, that

in that play the chorus did not enter singing. Cf. also the *Antigone*. As for the *Septem* the arguments brought forward in support of the view that Eteocles remained on the scene during the parodos (see above) are not conclusive. It seems, therefore, hardly justifiable to cite this as an instance of the idle actor in Aeschylus.

<sup>2</sup> See also M. Croiset, 'Eschyle Imitateur d'Homère,' *Rev. d. Études Grecques*, vii. 151 sqq.

## NOTE ON CICERO *AD ATTICVM* 2. 12.

NEGENT illi Publium plebeium factum esse? Hoc uero regnum est et ferri nullo pacto potest. Emittat ad me Publius qui obsignent; iurabo Gnaeum nostrum, conlegam Balbi, Anti mihi narrasse se in auspicio fuisse.

The letter which opens with this outburst of mock indignation over the treatment of Clodius by the 'triumvirs' was written by Cicero on the nineteenth of April, 59 B.C., at Tres Tabernae, where he arrived in the afternoon, having left Antium in the morning. From the letters of the Atticus correspondence that immediately precede this one (2. 2-9) it appears that Cicero and Atticus were both at Rome from the beginning of the year until some time in the first half of April, when Cicero went to Antium. The word *Anti*, therefore, in the passage quoted above, requires us to suppose that the interview with Pompey to which Cicero refers took place at Antium about the middle of April. In the light of other evidence—mostly negative, to be sure, but I think convincing—this supposition is highly improbable, both as regards the place and the time of the interview.

In the first place, if the interview had occurred at Antium, nothing can be more certain than that Cicero would have written Atticus a full account of it at once, and he most likely would have alluded to so interesting an occurrence in other letters besides. The letters from Antium are six in number (*ad Att.* 2. 4-9), and, considering the shortness of Cicero's stay, the security of communication with Rome, and Atticus' methodical care in preserving his friend's letters, we have no good ground to doubt that the set is complete. But there is not the slightest allusion in any part of it to a meeting with Pompey at Antium.

In regard to the time of the interview our evidence is not complete, but it points pretty surely to a date much earlier than April. The adoption of Clodius took place on the same day on which Cicero spoke in defence of Antonius, his former colleague (*de Domo* 41), which was in January, if the trial of Antonius was held at the appointed time (see *ad Att.* 2. 2. 3). At any rate Cicero was in the city at the time of the adoption, and being on friendly, not to say intimate, terms with Pompey, must have talked the matter over with him more than once. And Pompey's attitude in this case was not one of evasion, but of responsibility: he undertook to keep Clodius from attacking Cicero (*ad Att.* 2. 9. 1). This was an attitude calling for frankness, and we must conclude, I think, that it was at this time and not two



or three months later at Antium, that he gave Cicero an account of the ceremony and of his own part therein.

How then did *Anti* get into our text? The explanation lies close under the surface. The Balbus on the Campanian land-commission was, Suetonius informs us (*Aug.* 4), M. Atius Balbus, the grandfather of Augustus; and what Cicero wrote here was *Balbi Ati*, in accordance with his usual practice of putting the *cognomen* first, when omitting the *praenomen*; cf. *Balbi Corneli*, *ad Att.* 8. 15. 3. Atius Balbus was of noble birth, he was brother-in-law of Caesar and a near kinsman of Pompey, and he had attained the praetorship. What personal shortcomings made him a target for Cicero's sarcasm we do not know, but whatever they were, they only emphasized the inappropriateness of calling him simply 'Balbus,' without further designation to distinguish him from the two other possessors of the name who were prominent at this time.

CLEMENT L. SMITH.

## VERSVS OVIDI DE PISCIBVS ET FERIS.

CONCERNING the date and authorship of the fragment preserved under this title in the 9th century MS Vind. 277 and apparently cited by Pliny n. h. xxxii 11 'quae Ouidius prodidit piscium ingenia in eo uolumine quod halieuticon inscribitur', 152 'ab Ouidio posita nomina . . . fortassis in Ponto nascentia, ubi id uolumen supremis suis temporibus incohauit', there are three opinions: that the poem is Ovid's; that it is a work of the 1st century which Pliny mistook for Ovid's; and that it is a forgery later than Pliny's time and spun out of Pliny's citations. The first, though Muretus and others cast doubt on it so early as the 16th century, has been general in the past ages of learning and is highly congenial to the present. The second was held by Vlitius and Wernsdorf and in 1878 was defended with great erudition and discursiveness by Mr Birt in his elaborate and well-known monograph. The third was first explicitly stated, but at the same instant disavowed, by Haupt in his edition of 1838; though Barth in the 17th century had already ascribed the verses, quite at random, to Olympius Nemesianus.

Against the third opinion there is much to be said, and I do not here maintain it; but I propose to consider one element of the problem which has hitherto been superficially and inattentively treated, and which confronts the adherents of the first and second opinions with an obstacle of which they are very imperfectly aware. Those who believe that Ovid wrote the halieutica, or that Pliny read it, must either renounce their beliefs or else find means to rid the poem of a feature which renders both alike incredible: its false quantities.

I do not apply so harsh a term to the disyllabic *milui* of u. 95,

*hippuri celeres et nigro tergore milui;*

but it is necessary to observe that the first certain example of this scansion is some forty years later than Pliny's death and a whole century later than Ovid's: Iuu. ix 55 'tot miluos intra tua pascua lassas'. For Mart. ix 54 10 is not a certain example. When two families of Martial's MSS have 'hinc prope summa rapax miluus *ad* astra uolat' and the third has 'miluus *in* astra', one remembers Pers. iv 26, where most MSS give 'miluus oberrat' for the 'miluus errat' of the best; and Arthur Palmer suspects with good reason that *ad* and *in* are alternative interpolations, and that 'hinc prope summa rapax miluus astra uolat', with 'prope' as preposition, was what Martial wrote.



To the iambic *ei* of u. 34, which Mr Birt on pp. 32 sq. declares to be unique, I make no objection, for it is not unique: it occurs twice in Germanicus' *Aratea*, which was written in Ovid's lifetime or at least within a year or two of his death. Nor do I quarrel with the 'pictae mormyres' of u. 110 because this fish or another is called ὁ μορμύρος by the Greeks. Even the lengthening of the last syllable of χρύσοφρυς in u. 111 'auri | chrysophrys imitata decus' may perhaps be excused, as Mr Birt on p. 116 excuses it, by the caesura semiternaria. But his defence of the false quantity in u. 101,

qui semper spumas sequeris, pompīle, nitentes,

is altogether futile. The fish's name is πομπίλος: its scansion is ascertained not merely from its accent but from the usage of the poets: Erinna frag. i 1 πομπίλε ναύταισιν πέμπων πλόον εὐπλοον ἰχθύ, Pancrates ap. Athen. 283 Α πομπίλος, δὲν καλέουσιν ἀλίπλοοι ἱερὸν ἰχθύν, Oppian hal. i 186 ἐν κείνοις νέμεται καὶ πομπίλος, δὲν πέρι ναῦται | ἄζονται, and so on. 'Quis non uim agnoscit accentus graeci?' says Mr Birt, 'qua eadem ui et Βηλίδης pro molosso poetae accipere inuitabantur et Λυκούργιδης pro proceleusmatico'—immo epitrito primo—'(Ouidi Ib. 501); falsoque ideo scripsit Muellerus p. 356 inuersionem quantitatum accentu grammatico effectam apud classicos certo comprobari non posse'. But Mueller's false statement is the simple truth. The Greek words whose scansion the classical Latin poets venture to alter are words like *Bēlīdēs*, which cannot without alteration find a place in their verse, not words like *pōmpīlūs*, which can. And when, to effect this purpose, a short syllable must be lengthened, they do as Homer did with ἀθάνατος and Πριαμίδης; they leave accent utterly out of account. When, for example, Martial fits Πανάρετος to a dactylic metre, he transforms it to *Pānaretus*, vi 89 2, not *Panāretus*; and Θεοφίλη he transforms to *Theōphila*, vii 69 1, not *Theophila*. The fact therefore that *Belides* and *Lycurgides* are paroxytone is an irrelevant accident. What encouraged the Latin poets to lengthen the penultimate syllables of those names was not their accentuation but the familiarity of the ending -είδης in patronymics and the example of the Greeks themselves; for the connexion between poetry and the Ptolemies had given birth and currency to the false form Λαγείδης, which is preserved in inscriptions and was employed by Theocritus himself at xvii 14 Λαγείδας (Λαγίδας MSS), Πτολεμαῖος. The scansion of πομπίλος as *pōmpīlus* is a solecism unparalleled until the 4th century of the Christian era and almost tantamount to a profession of the Christian faith.

But nowhere in the 200 pages of Mr Birt's dissertation, nowhere in Mr Zingerle's assertion of the authorship of Ovid,<sup>1</sup> nowhere in Lucian Mueller's *de re metrica*, nowhere in the world, have I seen the metre of u. 46 either defended or attacked.

anthias his, tergo quae non uidet, utitur armis  
uim spinae nouitque suae uersoque supinus  
corpore lina secat fixumque intercipit hamum.

46

<sup>1</sup> Kleine philol. Abhandl. ii.



Twice does Mr Birt discuss this verse, its grammar on pp. 19 sq., its matter on pp. 77 sq.; but its metre never. I turn to Georges' lexicon, and there I find 'anthiās, -ae, *m.* (*ἀνθίας*), ein uns unbekannter Seefisch, Ov. hal. 46. Plin. 9, 180; 32, 11', but nothing to explain how 'anthiās' can begin a dactylic hexameter, where the cretic is 'ein mir unbekannter Fuss'. I turn to the thesaurus linguae Latinae, though with no high hopes of enlightenment on a point of metre; for this work, 'editus auctoritate et consilio Academiæ quinquæ Germanicarum' derives from "*Ἀγρίος* a proper name which it scans *Agriōn*, and describes the prosody of *Achaia* by saying that it is  $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup$  in hexameters and  $\cup\text{---}\cup$  in pentameters. For the thesaurus Mr Birt's text of the halieutica has been revised by Mr Ehwald and the following article then composed by Mr Lehnert: 'anthias, -ae *m.*, *ἀνθίας*, piscis marinus. cf. A. Marx, P. W. I 2376. Ov. hal. 46 anthias in (his *cod.*) tergo quae non uidet, utitur armis uim spinae mouitque suae uersoque supinus corpore lina secatur fixumque intercipit hamum. PLIN. nat. 9, 179. 32, 13', 'anthias', according to the practice of the thesaurus, means 'anthiās'; so here we have a sixth declension, nom. -ās, gen. -ae.

The earliest and indeed the only instance of any similar shortening quoted by Mueller in his *de re metrica* is Prisc. perieg. 413 *Melās*; and I have none to add but *Biās* from the barbarous verses on the 'septem sapientes' inserted in Hyg. fab. 221 (Riese anth. Lat. ii c. 882, Baehrens poet. Lat. frag. pp. 296 sqq.) where it keeps fit company with *Milēsius*. Should it be sought to scan *anthias* as a spondee, *anthjās*, on that side too there is a lion in the way; for the Greek *ι* is not thus treated by Latin poets in classical times. *io* indeed, which had become a Latin word, is used as a monosyllable by Catullus and Martial; but *Peljo* in Sil. iii 495 is merely a bad conjecture (*phlego* *cod.* Colon., *peleo* *cett.*, *Pholoe* Heinsius), *jambo* in u. 5 of Sulpicia's satire is as good an index of its date as *Rōmuli* in u. 19, and probably the earliest parallel is the trochaic *ἰῶτα* of Ter. Maur. 500. In the couplet which now separates the inseparable verses Ovid. trist. ii 190 and 193,

Iazyges et Colchi Metereaue turba Getaeque  
Danuuii mediis uix prohibentur aquis,

191

the name *Iazyges*, though only a conjecture (the two best MSS have *cizyges* and *latiges* respectively), is in my judgment a true one; but the interpolation is ejected by Bentley and Schrader and Merkel, and its author's knowledge of metre would seem to have been much on a level with his knowledge of geography.

To Pliny therefore the hexameter

anthias his, tergo quae non uidet, utitur armis

would have been a scarce less wondrous spectacle than the eruption of Vesuvius. But there are now many critics of Latin poetry whom no such trifle as an initial cretic will deter from assigning this verse to the first century and even to the



hand of Ovid. I see, for instance, that Mr Hosius in 1892 edited Luc. i 398 as follows,

castraque, quae Vosegi curuam super ardua ripam  
pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingones armis, 398

and that after thirteen years, during which neither he nor his reviewers appear to have found any fault in the metre, he presented the verse unchanged in his edition of 1905. Certainly, if Lucan used *Lingonēs* as a dactyl or *Lingonēs* as an accusative, there was nothing to prevent Ovid from beginning an hexameter with *anthias*; and nothing to prevent him from mentioning Tuticanus as often as he pleased, or from inserting after met. vi 293 the verse which Mr R. Helm in Rhein. Mus. 1901 p. 355 has composed for him: 'nec tamen *ōmisit* linguam misera illa mouere'.

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## ETYMOLOGIES.

### (1) *concinnat*.

THIS verb is of quite general signification in Plautus = '*facit, reddit, comparat*,' and the like. Minuter definitions are given by the glossists, e.g. *συνκαττύει* 'sews together' (this sense in *Men.* 426, 467), *arte facit aut componit, conflectit*; cf. also *concinnatura κόλλησις*<sup>1</sup> ('a gluing together'). In view of Latin *ciet* 'moves, stirs, shakes; excites, rouses; causes, occasions,' and of Greek *κινεῖ* 'sets in motion, moves, removes; changes, alters, sets agoing, causes, calls forth,' we might define *concinnat* by 'moves, draws, puts together, joins.'

Inasmuch as *κινεῖ* and *ciet* are causative to *κίει* 'goes,' the question arises whether *concinnat* 'causes to go together' can reach as specific a force as 'joins,' for if we get to 'joins' (cf. joiner 'carpenter, builder') we shall have solved all the difficulties of *concinnat*.

In Skr. *sampadāyati* ('causes to go together') much the same meanings develop as *concinnat* shows, and the participle *sampannas* coincides very minutely with *concinnus* in its significations: on this evidence we may conclude that the vague 'moves together' may reach the definiteness of 'drives, draws, puts together; arranges, adjusts, disposes; prepares, "fixes," makes.' We may compare also German *zusammen stossen* 'to push together,' with the specific sense of 'to bind close, to stitch together.'

But a trace of another and somewhat more definite meaning for *concinnat* shows itself in Naevius, ap. Nonium, 90, 25

transit Melitam Romanus, insulam integram, <oram>  
urit, populatur, uastat, rem hostium concinnat,

where the interpretation of *concinnat* is attested by the gloss *concinnare* 'hic dissipare, alibi componere.' The sense 'dissipat' (trans.) very directly suggests a comparison of *concinnat* with Homeric *κίδναται* 'scatters' (i.e. 'splits up,' intrans.), which in turn seems but a specialization of the meaning of the root of Skr.

<sup>1</sup> Prellwitz gives no root for *κόλλα* 'leim,' but in view of English *sticks*=glues, we may regard *κόλλα* as a specialized derivative of the root *s)kel-*; cf.

Russ. *kolóti* 'stechen.' For the sense 'stechen' cf. Solmsen in P.Br. B. 27, 366, questioned by Walde, s.v. *clades*.



*khidāti* 'stoest' (: Lat. *caedit* 'cuts'), *chinátti* 'splits.' Thus *con-cinnat* again suggests *zusammen stoest* 'shatters' (=scatters 'dissipat') and 'stitches together' (quasi 'componit').

From this point of vantage we may interpret Homeric ἀκιδνότερος 'disordered, ἄκοσμος' (ε 217, θ 169); 'inconsistent, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον' (σ 130), as the opposite of Latin *concinnus* 'orderly, κοσμητός.'

The above note on *concinnat* originally formed part of my 'Studies of Latin Words in -cino-, -cinia-' (C.R. 18, pp. 303-307; 349-351; 461-463), from which, along with a study of Plautine *conticinnum* and *percontatur*, it was separated as not an integral part of the subject. It has been held for several years, pending a fresh study of *conticinnum* and *percontatur*, but I now bring it forward à propos of Prellwitz's recent treatment of *concinnat* in K.Z. 41, 202. In connection therewith it is also expedient to consider

(2) *cinnus, cinnavit, ciniflo.*

These words occur in Goetz's corpus of Latin glosses as follows:

*cinnus* 'νεῦμα'; 'tortio oris,<sup>1</sup> unde dictus est *cicinnus*' (v.l. *cacinnus*).

*cinnavit* 'innuit, promisit.'

If *cinnus* is for \**cīnus* (cf. the phenomena examined by Vendryes, *Intensité Initiale* § 139) we may paraphrase 'tortio oris' by 'motio oris,' and so make *cinnus* a participle of *ciet* 'mover.' Likewise *cinnus* 'a mixed drink' may be explained by what we call a 'shake,' or more accurately as a 'stir,' quasi 'Rührtrink.' But even here, recalling Fr. *couper* 'to mix' (wine with water), we might start with \**cidnus*: *caedit*. In view of a phrase like 'to cut (round) the eyes' *cinnus* 'tortio oris' admits the same explanation (from \**cidnus*).

With *ciet* 'moves; calls' belongs Goth. *haitan* 'to command; name,' semantically illustrated by *appellat*, and by κέλλει 'mover': κέλεται 'bids' (cf. Brugmann, cited by Walde): in *cinnavit* 'innuit, promisit' we are close to the sense κέλεται. But if *cinnavit* lends itself to explanation from \**cīnat* 'moves,' *concinnat* 'vastat' seems rather to proceed from -*cidnat*; while *concinnat* 'fixes, arranges, stitches' is satisfactorily accounted for by either derivation.

The word *ciniflo*, the length of whose penult may be due to position, would seem to mean 'arranger, ornatrix': it is glossed by γυναικῶν κοσμητής. Unless the word is a compound its *f* cannot be genuine Latin, but is dialectic. If it is a derivative, I posit \**kine-dhlom*, a stirring instrument of some kind, whence \**ciniflōn*-, the user of that instrument. Perhaps the object was some sort of 'bangle, pendant, drop,' cf. the gloss *ciniflo* 'ornamenta mortuorum vel mulierum.' On this supposition the abnormal *f* of -*flo* may owe its retention to a popular association with *flatur* 'blows' (? shakes, trembles). For the vocalism, *cīni* : κινέει, cf. κινάθισμα 'motion, rustling.'

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps English *squint* is ultimately allied.



## (3) κῆδος.

Prellwitz in his lexicon separates κῆδος 'care' from κῆδος 'affinitas.' Is this necessary? The former certainly belongs to words derivable from the base **s)k(h)ē(y)-d(h)-** 'caedere.' The latter clearly signifies a marriage alliance (Thuc. 2. 29; Herod. 7. 189; Soph. *O.C.* 379), but it seems to mean 'race' (kindred) in Aeschylus (*Supp.* 331), and possibly means 'scion' in Euripides (*Phoen.* 77). As a contract was something struck (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 176 fn. 3, 181) the sense (marriage) 'contract' admits of the correlation of κῆδος with *caedit* 'κόπτει.' The further senses of 'scion, branch' (of a family) are also derivable along the chain 'cutting, twig, branch.' The *ā* of the Greek dialects is explicable, in terms of the reigning theories of vocalism, as a secondarily lengthened *ə*.

## (4) κίων.

The word κίων 'column' may conceivably belong with κίει 'moves, goes,' cf. Skr. *cāraṇas* 'foot, column': *carāti* 'moves, goes' (? Lat. *columna*: *colit*), and if κίων = Arm. *siun* is a correct equation we are thrown back to a base **kē(y)-**. Fick and Prellwitz write the root *kē-*, but no necessary connection with *τινάσσει* 'shakes' exists. We find the same metaphor in German *Säulengang* 'peristyle, colonnade'; cf. also *στυλοβάτης*.

The original sense of many verbs of motion was 'cuts' (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 198), and κίων may have meant originally something like 'truncus.' For a base **kē(y)-** (or **kē(y)-**) 'caedere' we may also cite κίς 'grub,' *cimex* 'bug'; while the curious juridical Latin *herctum ciere* 'to divide an inheritance' may attest the same sense. Here also I put Skr. *ḥīyate* 'cadit,' with sense like Lith. *krinti* 'cado': Skr. *krutāti* 'caedit.' I have likewise associated Lat. *cadit* with *caedit*, base **s)k(h)ē(y)-d(h)-** (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26, 396), though Skr. *ḥad-* 'cadere' attests **ḥ**; but it will hardly be denied that **kē(y)-** (**kē(y)-**) and **s)khēy-** may have a common origin: and so even the forms *\*cīnus* and *cinnus* of no. 2 may be looked on as variant rather than entirely distinct forms.

## (5) κεδνός.

Bezzenberger's explanation of κεδνός as 'cui ceditur' (see Prellwitz, *s.v.*) does not seem to me adequate. All the more, since *cēdit* 'grants; yields, retires' is probably a secondary development from the root of *caedit* 'cuts' [see this writer in *Am. Jr. Phil.*, *l.c.*; and note phrases like 'cuts class' (=absents oneself from), 'there is danger of his cutting' (=running away)]. After a study of all the Homeric instances, the most adequate and comprehensive definition I can give to κεδνός is 'certus,' supplemented by 'κριτός,' words which themselves come from a base **skerē(y)-** 'scheiden, entscheiden, bestimmen,' extended from **sker-** 'caedere.' Similarly κεδνός may come from the base of *scheidet, caedit*, viz. **sk(h)ē(y)-d(h)-**, to which σκεθρός 'careful, precise,' a partial synonym of κεδνός, also belongs.



(6) *vitricus*.

In *Class. Rev.* 11. 74, I explained *vitricus* as from \**vi-ptricus*. About the same time Prellwitz (*B.B.* 23, 69) advanced the same explanation, but he does not yet seem (see *K.Z.* 41, 202, anm.) to have learned of my contemporary suggestion. This reconstruction has been pronounced 'lautgeschichtlich zu gewaltsam' (Brugmann, *I.F.* 16, 493), and 'tout à fait gratuite' (Vendryes, *l.c.* p. 239). On the other hand Ciardi-Dupré, in *B.B.* 26, 211, thinks that four-syllabled words of the type of \**vi-patricus* may have suffered syncope of the post-tonic vowel after a *p*, and possibly after other surd mutes. The curious misfortune that almost all the examples of syncope are of the *rettulit* type, and may come from \**redtetulit*, etc. reduced by haplology, leaves no absolutely certain example. On the other hand no unimpeachable disproof of Ciardi-Dupré's formula can be offered, if due weight be given to 'factors' like 'recomposition' and 'rederivation' (*facilius* not \**facilus* because of *facile*).

The syncope question has been lately dealt with by Exon in an acute paper in *Hermathena* (14, 117 sq.), in which he attributes all cases to the effect of the historical Latin accent (penultimate and, in long words, secondary); except the case of *officium*, from \**ōpificium*, for which he suggests a formula for five-syllabled words, not unlike the formula of Ciardi-Dupré.

Prof. Exon wishes to find absolute uniformity in cases of syncope and would fain reject any distinction between quick-speech and slow-speech. But the modern phoneticians demonstrate that this distinction is not a fiction, but a reality, as a glance at the slow and quick transcriptions in Passy and Rambeau's *Chrestomathie Française* will show.

Of the Plautine words like *facilius* (◡◡◡◡) I have no complete list, but none of the words mentioned in Exon's paper can be held to prove that ◡◡◡◡, at least in the allegro tempo, was never reduced to ◡◡◡; *columine* (once in Plautus) may be due to *cōlumen* (three times); *bālīnēae* (from *βαλανείον*) need not have had the same phonetic treatment as a really Italic word of the rhythmic type ◡◡◡◡; *nuculeum* (acc.) belongs, especially in view of *nucula*, to the class of diminutives, cf. *equuleus*: *equulus*: *equus*, *aculeus* 'sting': *acus* 'needle,' *trulleus*: *trulla*, *hīnuleus*: *ἐνεδος*, *pillens*: *πίλος*, *platalea*: *platea*. Further, the accident that *nuculeus* and *nucula* apparently end in *-culeus*, *-cula*, puts them in the category of diminutives in *-culus*, not syncopated in Plautus (cf. Lindsay *Class. Rev.* 6. 87, and Vendryes, *l.c.* § 26).

But, all deductions made, and disregarding *officium* from \**opificium*, the derivation of *optumus* from \**opitumus* (so Walde) yields no negligible evidence for the syncope of ◡◡◡◡ to ◡◡◡, and the semantic alienation of *optumus* 'best' from \**opitumus* 'richest' makes this evidence the stronger. Vendryes, who (*l.c.* § 273) shies at this derivation, himself thinks it possible that *propter* arose in the rhythmic group \**prōpētērmē* (§ 274). Thus we have rhythmic parallels for the shift from



\**vipatricus* to \**viptricus*. A parallel for *-ptr->-tr-* I cannot adduce, but the assumption does not seem to me 'gewaltsam.'

A further objection to this explanation of *vitricus* is offered by Walde, s.v.: 'die ableitung *-icus* ist dieser auffassung ungünstig.' Wherefore? Note the following glosses for *vitricus*, all derivations of the word *pater*, viz. *πατρός*, paternus, patreus, patraster, patricus; also noting Greek *πατρώος* and *πατρυίος*. True, Skr. *vi-mātar-* 'step-mother' has a prefix but adds no suffix to *mātar-*; but how does that militate against a pleonastic \**vi-patricus*, where both the *vi-* and the *-icus* contribute the notion of 'step-' to 'father'?

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# POSTSCRIPT.<sup>1</sup>

The Editor has raised the question of the quantity of the *i* in *vitrum* 'woad.' I do not know the quantity, but a demonstrated *ī* in the word for 'woad' would not disprove, necessarily, its identity with *vitrum* 'glass.' A chief constituent in glass-making, and itself a glass-like mineral—thinking of the cloudy whitish glass—was *nītrum* and we may admit that as \**vitrum* 'woad' was acquiring the sense 'glass' it was affected by the rhyme-word *nītrum*.

The base to which the words for 'woad' were referred was, in a weak stage, **widh-** / **wid-**. Such a base is best regarded as an extension of the base **wē(y)-** 'caedere, scindere.' In *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26. 194, I have collected sundry derivations of this base, including Latin *vitium* 'culpa' (defined as on p. 15, above) and *vitat* 'shuns, avoids, forsakes.' For the derivation of the sense 'shuns'<sup>2</sup> from 'cuts' any large English lexicon will give examples under *cut*, and Englishmen have a telling example in the last line of Calverley's poem, *Isabel*.

I would now derive Lat. *vitrum*, not as I originally did from **wid-**, but rather from **wi-t-**, as in *vitium*. As to formation, *vitrum* 'quod finditur' may be compared with Skr. *chidrām* 'quod caeditur,' Sabine *cuprum* 'quod cupitur, Lat. *scabrum* 'quod scabitur' (? scabit).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> I would derive *shuns* from the base **sk(h)ā(w)-**, parallel with **sk(h)ē(y)-** 'caedere' noted several

times above. See *Am. Jr. Phil.* 26. 35; 396.

<sup>3</sup> Examples from Brugmann, *Grundriss*,<sup>2</sup> ii. pp. 348, 352.



## AD SENECAE LIBROS *DE BENEFICIIS* ET *DE CLEMENTIA*.

*De benef.* I. i i p. i i (Hosius): Inter multos ac uarios errores temere incon-  
sulteque uiuentium nihil propemodum, uir optime Liberalis, dixerim, \* quod bene-  
ficia nec dare scimus nec accipere. Sequitur enim, ut male conlocata male  
debeantur; de quibus non redditis sero querimur; ista enim perierunt, cum darentur.

Quid interciderit, praeter 'quam' quod in quibusdam MSS. seruatum est, non  
constat: forsitan fuerit 'uehementius', cf. p. 39 17: 'uehementer errasse', p. 44  
28: 'uehementius malum'; et est aliqua litterarum similitudo inter 'uehementius' et  
quod antecedit '-(q)ue uiuentium'.

Ceterum Gertzium, plura perisse ratum, ad quae referatur uerbum 'sequitur',  
decepit huius uerbi significatus: non enim priora respicit (= unde efficitur), sed signi-  
ficat 'in re ipsa positum est', cf. p. 55 9: 'Sequitur autem, ut, ubi quod acceperis  
leue nouorum cupiditas fecit, auctor quoque eorum non sit in pretio'.

*De benef.* II 18 2 p. 37 7: Hac duce (*sc.* ratione) per totam uitam eundum  
est, minima maximaque ex huius consilio gerenda; quomodo haec suaserit,  
d a n d u m.

Gertz 'dandum <est et accipiendum>', cum (ait) *hoc loco de eo maxime dis-  
putetur, quomodo beneficium accipiendum sit*: immo de eo solo, itaque desideres  
'agendum' (ad dandum *M*).

*De benef.* III 14 1 p. 63 6: Deinde <'> pauciora erunt beneficia <'>. Sed  
ueriora; quid autem mali est inhiberi beneficiorum temeritatem? Hoc enim ipsum  
secuti sunt, qui nullam legem huic <rei> constituerunt, ut circumspectius  
donaremus eqs.

<rei> addidi<sup>1</sup>; non enim *beneficiorum dandorum temeritati* negatur ulla lex  
esse constituta, sed *acceptorum infitiationi* (p. 62 24). Praeterea interlocutori sua  
uerba reddidi: post ea quae initio capitis 13 posita sunt, *altera* obiectio per 'deinde'  
inducitur (cf. quae ad *Epist.* p. 474 3 adnotauimus<sup>2</sup>, tertia sequetur c. 16. Ipsius  
Senecae refutatio per 'sed' incipit, cf. p. 234 3: "Quid ergo? non reges quoque  
occidere solent?" Sed quotiens id fieri publica utilitas persuadet.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 59 7: 'nemo huic rei satis idoneus iudex  
inuentus est'.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Quarterly*, i. p. 209.



*De benef.* III 23 1 p. 70 8: Dedit aliquis domino suo uitam, dedit mortem, seruauit peritum et, hoc si parum est, pereundo seruauit; alius mortem domini adiuuit, alius decepit.

Quomodo is seruus, qui dominum, ut exemplo quod suo loco c. 26 citatur apparet, e mediis quasi Orci faucibus extraxit, illius mortem adiuuisse dicitur? Siue 'antiuit' siue quid aliud scripsit Seneca, de corruptela si cui persuaserim satis habeam.

*De benef.* III 29 5 p. 75 25: Innituntur fundamentis suis templa excelsa urbis—.

'excelsa' pro 'et illa' dedit editor, quod antequam probes aestima, quid ualeat languens illud 'urbis'; neque magis probandum uidetur 'et tecta' (Thomas), uel 'et culmina' (Mueller), uel 'et insulae' (Gertz), quae omnia rebus amplioribus, templis, uiliora adiunguntur. Non nimis audaciter, quod ad litterarum ductus, scribemus 'aëula' = 'aemula'. Cf. p. 198 16: 'aedificia priuato laxitatem urbium magnarum uincentia', *Ep.* p. 381 18: 'domos instar urbium', p. 536 2: 'in ipsas domos inpenditur cura, ut in laxitatem urbis (sic recte Cornelissen pro 'ruris') excurrant'. Aut ego fallor aut idem mendum est in lib. v 3 1 p. 123 13: 'Cursor cretam prior contigit: uelocitate illum, non animo antecessit' pro 'uelocitate eulum', cuius lectionis uestigia manent in Cod. Guelferbyitano I, ubi a prima manu 'uelocitatē illum' fuisse testatur Fickert.

*De benef.* IV 8 1 p. 91 17: Hunc (deum, siue naturam, siue diuinam rationem) et Liberum patrem et Herculem ac Mercurium nostri putant: Liberum patrem, quia omnium parens sit, quod primum inuenta seminum uis est consultura per uoluptatem; Herculem, quia uis eius inuicta sit quandoque lassata fuerit operibus editis, in ignem recessura; Mercurium, quia ratio penes illum est numerusque et ordo et scientia.

Madvig dum scribit 'quod (sic *codd.*) primum inuenta seminum uitis consitura peperit uoluptatem', dumque Liberum illum penes quem uites sunt inducit, id dedit quod ab auctoris mente alienissimum est, ut qui populares deos altiore et sublimiore interpretatione supra uulgarem persuasionem extollere studeat et Stoicae doctrinae conciliare (Liber pater = ὁ σπερματικὸς λόγος, Mercurius = ὁ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως λόγος, Hercules = ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ἐκπύρωσις). Perspexit Gertz ad hominum propagationem illa esse referenda (in edit. p. 218) scripsitque 'quod<sup>1</sup> primum inuenta seminum uis est et consitura per uoluptatem' (nam has etiam partes Libero fuisse datas admonuit Haupt; cf. ex. gr. *August. C. D.* vii 21: 'Liberi sacra, quem liquidis seminibus ac per hoc non solum liquoribus fructuum,—uerum etiam seminibus animalium praefecerunt'); sed neque ullum locum Gertz attulit unde appareret τὴν ἐπὶ παισὶ σποράν latine 'consituram' dici, neque in 'consultura' quidquam est

<sup>1</sup> Dubium, utrum 'quod' in 'quod' an in 'quo' corrigendum sit; de datiuo 'quo', qui in Senecae scriptis saepius occurrit, ubique tamen ab editoribus mutatum (notaui mihi *Dial.* p. 283 17 (aliquo), p. 293 2,

*Ep.* p. 97 11, p. 340 24—dubium tamen utrum hic 'quolibet' datiuus sit an aduerbium—, *de benef.* p. 72 17, p. 157 26; sescenties 'quod' inuenies); cf. Th. Birt in *Archiv. f. lat. Lexicogr.* xv p. 81.



suspecti, si unam uocem addimus per quam etiam illud 'primum' melius uice sua fungatur, nempe 'quo primum inuenta seminum uis est, consultura <perpetuitati (p. 80 14)> per uoluptatem'. Cf. p. 77 18: 'per uoluptatem'.

*De benef.* IV 13 1, p. 96. 15: Vobis uoluptas est inertis otii facere corpusculum et securitatem sopitis simillimam adpetere et sub densa umbra latitare tenerrimisque cogitationibus, quas tranquillitatem uocatis, animi marcentis oblectare torporem eqs.

Immo 'quam', ad animi torporem referendum. De attractione generis cf. p. 87 24: 'quae maxima Epicuro felicitas uidetur, nihil agit', *Ep.* p. 126 10: 'quid me detines in eo, quem tu ipse pseudomenon appellas?'

*De benef.* IV 13 3 p. 97 5: Non est beneficium, quod in quaestum mittitur. 'Hoc dabo et hoc recipiam' auctio est.

Malim sic interpungere: 'Non est beneficium, quod in quaestum mittitur "hoc dabo et hoc recipiam", auctio est.' Cf. p. 27 25: 'Non est illa liberalitas, censura est'.

*De benef.* IV 24 1 p. 106 9: Quemadmodum haec (caelestia) cum primum usum habeant et necessaria uitaliaque sunt, maiestas tamen eorum totam mentem occupat, ita omnis illa uirtus et in primis grati animi multum quidem praestat, sed non uult ob hoc diligi.

Pro 'illa' quod Gruterus deleuit, cautius post 'in primis' transtulit Pincianus, scripserim 'alia.' Sic saepe noster 'alii' pro 'ceteri', uelut p. 61 23, *Ep.* p. 329 6, *Dial.* p. 112, 28, *ibidem*, p. 107 20: 'alia (uitia) paulatim intrant, repentina et uniuersa uis huius (sc. irae) est', quem locum immerito suspectauit Gertz.

*De benef.* IV 37 1 p. 117 4: Hic naufragus in possessiones cuiusdam Macedonis expulsus est; quo i ut nuntiatum est, accucurrit eqs.

Pro 'quoi' restituatur lectio tradita 'quod'. Eadem structura est 3 p. 117 23: 'sed Philippo epistulam strictam ac liberam scripsit; qua accepta ita exarsit (sc. Philippus)—'.

*De benef.* V 3 1 p. 123 14 (uide supra ad iii 29 5 p. 75 25).

*De benef.* VI 27 7 p. 173 8 (In eum qui bene de se merito incommodum aliquod precatur, quo melius gratum animum ostendat succurrendo): Quidquid non efficis, dei munus est, iniuria uero, quidquid optas. Sat est; tibi non aliter debemus irasci, quam si profeceris.

'<Id ipsum, quod optas> sat est' suppleuit Haase, quod praeter 'id' recepit Gertz, breuitati parum consulens uterque. Vix dubium quin Seneca scripserit 'iniuriae uero, quidquid optas, sat est'. Cf. p. 188 10: 'quantum uictoriae satis est', p. 245 1: 'quantum uerae poenae satis erat', *Ep.* p. 16 20: 'quantum bonae uali-



tudini satis est', *Dial.* p. 30 16, p. 209 11; 'sat', non 'satis', etiam *de benef.* p. 193 11, *Ep.* p. 51 9, *N.Q.* iii 24 1 p. 549 *Fick.*<sup>1</sup>

*De benef.* VII 4 6 p. 192 24: Non ideo, quod habeo, meum non est, si meum tuum est; potest enim idem meum esse et tuum. 'si [meum] tuum est' cum Grutero Gertz. Suspisor 'mecum'.<sup>2</sup>

*De benef.* VII 18 1 p. 204 21: De altero beneficii genere dubitatur, quod si accipere non potui nisi sapiens, ne reddere quidem nisi sapienti possum. 'Putam enim me reddere: ille non potest recipere, non est iam huius rei capax, scientiam utendi perdidit. Quid si me remittere manco pilam iubeas? stultum est dare alicui, quod accipere non possit'.

Pilae manco non remittendae imago,<sup>3</sup> si ad beneficium iam non sapienti non reddendum refertur, aut falsa est nisi eum qui prior pilam misit, interim—ἐν ἀκαρπείῳ χρόνῳ!—mancum factum cogitamus, aut inepta, quia qui mancus potuit mittere (fac hunc pila ludere!), poterit et excipere. Omnia plana quidem erunt, si corrigimus: 'Quid si me [re]mittere manco pilam iubeas?', non ad priora scilicet referendum, sed exemplo illustrans id quod sequitur: 'stultum est eqs.', sed periculum est ne ipsum Senecam corrigamus, quem in quibusdam neglegentius scripsisse scimus. Conferas tamen *De benef.* ii 32 3 'lusus . . . qui consummatur uicibus mittendi ac remittendi'.

*De benef.* VII 19 8 p. 206 18: Si uero sanguine humano non tantum gaudet sed pascitur, sed et suppliciis omnium aetatum crudelitatem insatiabilem exercet—, si in ore parentum liberos iugulat, si non contentus simplici morte distortet—, si arx eius cruore semper recenti madet, parum est huic beneficium non reddere.

'[sed] et suppliciis' dedit Gertz. Malim propter subinde repetitum 'si' explere quod *Codd. dett.* exhibent: 'si <caede> et suppliciis—'.

*De benef.* VII 30 1 p. 214 21: Saepe quod explicari pertinacia potuit, uiolentia trahentis abruptum est.

'potuit' editiones inseruerunt, sed ante 'pertinacia', 'uiolentia' addidit Haupt. Non absurdum uidetur, quod solus *S* exhibet: 'Saepe quod explicari cum modo debuit, pertinacia trahentis abruptum est', dum restituas '<ex> commodo'; cf. *Ep.* p. 127 11: 'lecturus ex commodo', p. 226 2: '<e lege ex> commodo mori', p. 138 17: 'ex commodo migrantis', *N.Q.* v 18 7 p. 628 *Fick.*: 'emetiri annos suos ex commodo'. 'ex' post 'explicari' facile excidit. Quod in *GP* legitur 'explicauit' ortum est ex 'explica[ri] ex commodo deb]uit'.

*De clem.* I 15 (p. 218 25): Potes hoc, Caesar, audacter praedicare omnia, quae in fidem tutelamque tuam uenerunt, tuta haberi, nihil per te neque ui neque clam adimi rei publicae. Rarissimam laudem et nulli adhuc principum concessam concupisti innocentiam.

<sup>1</sup> '<Quod optas> sat est' mauult, ut per litteras me docuit, u. cl. Postgate.

<sup>2</sup> 'Si tecum meum est' Postgate.

<sup>3</sup> De imagine cf. ii 32.



Ne aut cum Wesenbergio 'innocentiae' scribendum sit, aut durius 'concessam' non cum 'laudem' sed cum 'innocentiam' sit iungendum (Mueller *Krit. Stud.* III p. 20), interpungo: 'Potes—rei publicae, rarissimam laudem et nulli adhuc principum concessam. Concupisti innocentiam: eqs'. Seneca postquam summis laudibus tulit Neronis clementiam uel indignissimo cuique parcentem, excipiens ultima fictae Caesaris orationis uerba 'hodie dis immortalibus, si a me rationem repetant, adnumerare genus humanum paratus sum', quibus uerbis innocentia Caesaris indicatur, non clementia, sicut etiam sequentibus 'neque ui neque clam'<sup>1</sup>, a §5 digressionem de innocentiae uirtute instituit, ut ostendat ex hac quidem omnes ciues fructum capere, huic tamen praestare clementiam (ad cuius audes reuertitur §9), ut quae non ad omnes tantum pertineat, sed ad omnes aequae.

*De clem.* I 3 1 p. 221 9: Nunc in tres partes omnem hanc materiam diuidam. Prima erit manumissionis; secunda, quae naturam clementiae habitumque demonstret (=lib. ii finitiones continens);—tertio loco (=libro deperdito) quae remus, quomodo ad hanc uirtutem perducatur animus.

De loco multum disputato omnium uerissime sensisse uidetur Aem. Thomas dum conicit 'prima erit in animi remissionis bonis': est enim de clementia liber estque e Senecae 'proposito' (c 5 1), clementia autem est animi remissio, cui opponitur seueritas (p. 218 17: 'Seueritatem abditam, at clementiam in procinctu habeo', *Cic. de Or.* II 17 72: 'tum ad seueritatem, tum ad remissionem animi est contorquendus'); unde suspicor scripsisse Senecam: 'prima erit animi remissionis'; de genitiuo cf. *Ep.* p. 463 13: 'Papiri libros, qui inscribuntur ciuiliū'.

*De clem.* I 14 2 p. 237 13: Hoc, quod parenti, etiam principi faciendum est, quem adpellauimus Patrem Patriae non adulatione uana adducti. Cetera enim cognomina honori data sunt; Magnos et Felices et Augustos diximus et ambiciosae maiestati quidquid potuimus titulorum congegimus illis hoc tribuentes; Patrem quidem<sup>2</sup> Patriae adpellauimus, ut sciret datam sibi potestatem patriam —.

In uerbis 'illis hoc tribuentes', quae deleuerat Haase, si diligentius ponderauerimus Gertzii interpretationem, qua per 'illis' designentur Pompeii, Sullae, Octauiani, per 'hoc' honor, offendet ordo praeposterus 'illis hoc' pro 'hoc illis'. Nonne scripsit Seneca 'illi' (honori scilicet)?

*De clem.* II 2 1 p. 252 11: Tradetur ista animi tui mansuetudo diffundeturque paulatim per omne imperii corpus, et cuncta in similitudinem tuam formabuntur. A capite bona ualetudo: inde omnia uegeta sunt atque erecta aut languore demissa, prout animus eorum aut uiuit aut marcet.

'inde omnia', quod e *Cod. Erasmi* sumpsit editor pro 'in omnes', primo aspectu possit uideri librarii alicuius emendatio, reuera tamen aequae uitiosum est; nam si per 'omnia' corporis membra<sup>3</sup> designasset Seneca, in sequentibus 'animus', non

<sup>1</sup> Aliter iudicat Mueller l.l.

<sup>2</sup> = autem p. 152 9, *Dial.* p. 28 30, p. 107 3, *Ep.* p. 101 22, p. 147 12, p. 208 23, p. 369 18, p. 596 19.

<sup>3</sup> In hanc sententiam ceterorum Codd. lectionem explet Gertz; scribit enim 'A capite bona ualetudo

in omnes corporis partes exit; omnia uegeta sunt —' itemque Schultess: 'A capite ualetudo hominis: cetera uegeta sunt —' in quibus admodum displicet illud 'hominis'.

AD SENECAE LIBROS DE BENEFICIIS ET DE CLEMENTIA 289

'animus *eorum*' scripsisset. Sed 'omnia' significat 'omnia quae animo reguntur corpora', et supplendum est: '<pro>inde omnia u. s.—prout animus eorum aut uiuit aut marcet'. Cf. *Ep.* p. 364 26 'proinde—prout', *de benef.* p. 62 8. 'pro' post 'ualetudo' facile periit.

*De clem.* II 6 3 p. 257 3: Etiam ad calamitosos pro portione improbandosque et emendandos bonitatem suam permittet.

'<peruenire> permittet' Skutsch. At cf. *Dial.* VI 25 2 p. 191 6: 'in profunda terrarum permittere aciem', *Ep.* p. 532 8: 'ius dominandi trans maria cupiunt permittere'.

*De clem.* II 7 1 p. 258 2: ego ut breuiter tamquam in alieno iudicio dicam: eqs.

Madvig aut '[ut] breuiter' aut 'autem br'. legendum esse censebat: illud probauit Gertz. Malim per parenthesin simul et ellipsin: 'ego, ut breuiter, tamquam —', cf. p. 120 20: 'et, ut breuiter, qui nimis cupit soluere, inuitus debet'.

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## THE MADRID MS OF MANILIUS AND ITS KINDRED.

THAT family of Manilius' MSS which is now usually called the second, and is designated by the letter  $\beta$ , made its first decisive entrance into criticism in the year 1739. The early vulgate had shaped itself out of hybrid copies in which the tradition of the two families  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  was indistinguishably blended; one good and ancient representative of  $\alpha$ , the Gemblacensis, was brought into employment by Scaliger in 1600: but the testimony of  $\beta$  was never disengaged and isolated until Bentley's edition made public the readings of the Leyden codex Vossianus 390. The next member of the family to emerge was Matritensis M 31, discovered in 1879 by Gustav Loewe and brought to general notice in the middle of 1893 by the simultaneous publication of two papers,—one by Mr Breiter in the *Neue Jahrbuecher* vol. 147 pp. 417–423, one by Prof. Ellis in *Hermathena* no. xix pp. 261–286. Two other MSS closely akin to this, Vrbinales 667 and 668 in the Vatican library, containing the first 82 verses of the poem, which the Matritensis has lost, are employed in an edition of Book i which I published in 1903.

Mr Breiter on p. 421 of his paper, where he made the important observation that the Vossianus, from i 1 to ii 683 (673 of Jacob's text) or thereabouts, has no kinship with the Matritensis and is practically worthless, pronounced also his opinion that even in its latter portion, from ii 684 to v 745, the Vossianus possesses no independent value: 'dasz in dem zweiten teile sämtliche gute lesarten des V sich in M bereits vorfinden, und dasz demnach dem V ein eigener wert überhaupt nicht zukommt'. The question whether this opinion is right or wrong, and whether V is or is not derived from M, has nothing to do with the question whether M is or is not the actual copy made for Poggio about the year 1417, by a scribe who was 'ignorantissimus omnium uiuentium', from the ancient MS which Poggio had discovered in Switzerland or Germany during the Council of Constance. Granting that M is this copy, it does not follow that no other copy of the original was made. Of the Asconius which Poggio discovered about the same time there were made no fewer than three copies,—one by Poggio himself, one by Zomini, and one by Bartolomeo da Montepulciano; and we have no right to presume that the Manilius, on the contrary, was copied only once. If a second copy was made, and if V is derived from that second copy, it is of course an authority independent of M. The only way to ascertain the relations subsisting between M and V is to examine their contents. I proceeded therefore to test Mr Breiter's opinion by comparing



the readings of V with the excerpts from M which were printed by Mr Ellis in the *Classical Review* of 1893 and 1894; and I found it contradicted by this formidable array of exceptions.

- |                                                                                     |                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ii 735 <i>destituent eius tum] destituēte iustū V,</i><br><i>destituēterustū M.</i> | 609 <i>Hadriaco mutatum] adriam ēmutatus,</i><br><i>V, hadriam comitatus M.</i> |
| iii 350 <i>attritis V, atricis M.</i>                                               | 776 <i>condidit V, possidet M.</i>                                              |
| 408 <i>perducta V, deducta M.</i>                                                   | 919 <i>cogatque V, doceatque M.</i>                                             |
| 618 (title) <i>tropica] triplica V, triplicia M.</i>                                | 935 <i>et V, om. M.</i>                                                         |
| 626 <i>paruo] parito V, pariter M.</i>                                              | v 36 <i>Argo] arco V, arto M.</i>                                               |
| iv 397 <i>suis opibus super] suis opibus usu per</i><br><i>V, suis usu per M.</i>   | 231 <i>sub V, in M.</i>                                                         |
| 576 <i>bilingui] biligui V, biligro M.</i>                                          | 646 <i>et V, uel M.</i>                                                         |

This is a select list of passages where V has a true reading not found in M, or a reading which is nearer to the truth than M's; and, taken together, they are enough to prove that V is independent of M. They are not all of the same weight, and some of them would have no weight if they stood alone. For example: *r* and *i* are often so much alike in M that V's *destituyente iustum* at ii 735, though nearer to the truth than M's *destituenterustum*, might nevertheless have arisen out of it; for a copyist when he blunders will sometimes undo an earlier blunder. V itself provides elsewhere a good and clear instance of such accidental correction: at iv 257, where Manilius wrote *priste*, all other MSS have *pisce*, but V has *piste*; and again at i 356, where Manilius wrote *pristis*, all other MSS have *piscis*, but v (that is the first part of this same Vossianus) has *pistis*: you would think that the *t* had been preserved from the original. But alas, at iv 573 and 582, where Manilius wrote *pisces* and *piscibus*, V again has *pistes* and *pistibus*: it is nothing but a false spelling of the scribe's. Again: V's *attritis* at iii 350 'attritis consumitur horis' may be a deliberate emendation of M's *atricis*, for V indisputably contains a certain number of conjectures, some of which are right, though they are seldom right unless they are very easy. If however it should be suggested that both *attritis* and several more of the above examples, such as iii 408 *perducta*, 776 *condidit*, v 231 *sub*, 646 *et*, are borrowed from some MS of the family *a*, that suggestion must be pronounced incredible. In the whole of V, from ii 684 to the end, there is no example of such borrowing unless these are examples. Had the scribe of V or of V's exemplar enjoyed access to the other family, he must have used it oftener and used it where its help was more urgently needed. But when he leaves whole lines of meaningless barbarism uncorrected, and does not employ the first family even to fill gaps or to finish the imperfect verses iii 615 and 616, it is absurd to suppose that he would alter such unexceptionable readings as *deducta* at iii 408 or *in* at v 231 and borrow from another source alternatives which possess no obvious superiority.

This list of variants, I say, forbids the belief that V is derived from M. But now I have to enquire whether these variants themselves are facts or phantoms. I testify to the readings of V, but for the readings of M I depend on others. This MS is a bad sailor, and has not forgotten the Armada: it will travel to Germany



and Italy, but to England it will not travel; it is also modest, and dislikes to be photographed; and I am not disposed to learn a fresh language with a poor literature, and undertake a long journey to an uninviting capital, merely in order to settle a question of so little practical importance as the question whether V is or is not a copy of M. There is perhaps only one passage, iv 919 above, where an editor, in framing his text, need seriously trouble himself about the exact relationship of the one MS to the other. *doceatque* is quoted not only from M but from all the MSS of the family *a*: it must be false, but *cogatque*, if V is not independent of M, can only be a conjecture, and the true reading will remain uncertain. In the other passages which I have cited, though the relationship of the MSS may be a puzzle, a critic can have no hesitation as to what reading he should adopt.

M was collated in 1879 by its discoverer Loewe in the margin of a copy of Jacob's edition which is now preserved in the University library of Goettingen as cod. MS philol. 139; but this collation has never been published. Mr Ellis in *Hermathena* no. xix p. 261 relates that in the Easter vacation of 1892 he 'visited Madrid with the object of seeing and collating this codex'. He saw it, but he did not collate it; he addressed himself instead to the much more laborious and much less profitable task of making excerpts, which he printed, as a 'collation with the text of Jacob', in volumes vii and viii of the *Classical Review*. That they were no collation with the text of Jacob was clear from the outset: one of the first entries, i 90 'ex aliis alia pros.', is Jacob's text itself, which a collator would have passed over in silence; and a little study soon gave rise to the suspicion that they were defective as well as redundant. Not even Mr Bechert could easily believe that the misprints of Jacob's edition already existed in a MS of the 15th century, nor that it exhibited Jacob's foolish conjectures *promisca et permiscet* at iv 101 and *ductantem* for *fluitantem* at 787, as, if Mr Ellis's silence could be relied upon, it did. Mr Bechert however believed as much as he could: he believed for example that at iv 574 the MS agreed with Jacob's text in the true lection *uenenum* for *mouentum*, because Mr Ellis said nothing to the contrary. I was more sceptical, and when I was editing Book i I procured from Rome information as to the readings of Vrb. 667 (probably a copy of M) in several places where I distrusted Mr Ellis's silence.<sup>1</sup> But it will soon appear that I was not sceptical enough.

By the kindness of my colleague Prof. R. Pribsch, of Prof. W. Meyer of Goettingen, and of Prof. Pietschmann, librarian of that University, Loewe's collation of M was sent over to London, without shipwreck or seasickness, in March 1907. I have examined it, and I will now enumerate, not all the discrepancies between Loewe's testimony and Mr Ellis's (for the MS is so ill written that no two scholars could be expected to agree, at any rate without

<sup>1</sup> In one place the information supplied to me was wrong: Vrb. 667, I have now ascertained, gives i 314-316 in the same order as Jacob, and there is no reason to doubt that M agrees with it and that Mr Ellis's silence therefore is not misleading.



tedious scrutiny and comparison, whether certain characters meant *ui* or *m*, *cl* or *d*, *e* or *c*, *c* or *t*), but all the noteworthy discrepancies. Where the testimony of either is borne out by the agreement of any of the three cognate MSS, V and U (Vrb. 667) and R (Vrb. 668), I shall note the fact. First I give a list of the places where the silence of Mr Ellis is contradicted by the express statement of Loewe.

- i 141 *nec* Ellis sil. : *ne* Loewe (UR).  
 172 *prohibentur* : *prohibent* (UR).  
 175 *et* : om. (UR).  
 275 *caelo* : *caelum* (UR).<sup>1</sup>  
 365 *tunc* (R, but the *t* seems later) : *hunc* (unc U).<sup>2</sup>  
 540 *quantis* : *et quantis* (UR).  
 544 *a* : om. (UR).  
 558 *fatum* : *fetum* (UR).  
 585 *nobis* : *uobis* (UR).  
 631 *sedem* : *sede* (UR).  
 675 *ducitur* : *dicitur* (UR).  
 730 *curribus* : *cursibus* (UR).  
 736 *curru* : *cursu* (UR).  
 746 *lumina* (UR) : *limina*.  
 762 *uenerantur* (R) : *ueneramur* (U).  
 837 *ignis* : *ignes* (UR).  
 917 *Roma* : *pompa* (UR).  
 ii 99 *si* : *sic* (UR).  
 150 *est* : *†* (*sunt* U, *cuius* R).<sup>3</sup>  
 169 *quod* : *que* (*quae* UR).  
 177 *utrimque* : *utrique* (U, *utrunque* R).  
 272 *sorte* : *forte* (UR).  
 381 *sex* : *sed* (UR).  
 426 *fructibus* : *fluctibus* (UR).  
 549 *auersi* : *aduersi* (UR).  
 583 *erat* : *erit* (UR).  
 630 *uinclum* : *mundum* (UR).  
 832 *ducelque* (R) : *ducet* (UV).  
 940 *recursus* : *recursu* (URV).  
 iii 166 *retinent* . . . *mutant* : *retinet* . . . *mutat* (URV).  
 275 *tempore* : *tempora* (URV).  
 294 *in* : *nie* (V, *tue* U, *me* R).  
 324 *temet praeueteris* : *tenet praeueteris* (URV).  
 329 *degrediere* : *digrediere* (URV).  
 333 *ducuntur* : *ducuntur* (URV).  
 408 *deducta* : *perducta* (URV).  
 425 *steterit* : *steteris* (UV, *steris* R).  
 508 *obitus* : *ortus* (URV).  
 578 *producet* : *producit* (URV).  
 596 *solus* : *solis* (URV).  
 607 *per* : *ter* (URV).  
 613 *iuuentam* : *iuuenta* (URV).  
 626 *pariter* (R) : *parito* (UV).  
 637 *brumam* : *brumae* (URV).  
 665 *dum* : *cum* (URV).  
 674 *capricorni* : *capricornie* (*capricornie* UV, *capricorni e* R).  
 679 *aduersum* (RV) : *auersum* (U).  
 iv 6 *bonis* : *bonus* (URV).  
 17 *hinc* : *tunc* (URV).  
 63 *urbes* (R) : *orbes* (UV).  
 101 *promisca et* : *permiscet* (URV).  
 123 *studia et* : *studii* (URV).  
 142 *summittit in astris* : *summit ceteris omissis* (UV, *ipse sumit* R).  
 157 *iuuentam* : *iuuenta* (URV).  
 212 *limine* : *lumine* (URV).  
 245 *munera* (R) : *numera* (UV).  
 341 *lucibus* : *lucidus* (R, *luculus* UV).  
 455 *par* : *pars* (URV).  
 495 *iuncta* (R) : *iunta* (UV).  
 574 *uenenum* : *mouentum* (UV, *momentum* R).  
 600 *uadosas* : *uadosis* (URV).  
 730 *calore* : *colore* (URV).  
 787 *ductantem* : *fluitantem* (V, *fluit autem* UR).  
 841 *in* : om. (URV).  
 879 *nutricia* (RV, *nutritia* U) : *uicricia*.  
 v 8 *circum* : *circa* (URV).  
 41 *puppis* : *puppi* (URV).  
 132 *magni mater* : *mater magni* (URV).  
 137 *tamen* : *etiam* (URV).

<sup>1</sup> *caelum* was conjectured by Scaliger and again by Bentley, and was adopted by the few rational editors : by Jacob and Bechert it was not only rejected but totally ignored. It is now seen to be the reading of the family  $\beta$ .

<sup>2</sup> This reading, '*hunc* subeunt Haedi', may be

right : compare v 357 '*hunc subit Arquitenens*'. So may the next, i 540 '*quantum . . . spatium, et quantis . . . finibus*'; and the next after that, 544 '*quantum terris atque aequore signa recedunt*'.

<sup>3</sup> *uariast* appears to be indicated.







And now, if the reader, after perusing these three lists, will turn back to the first list of all, the list in which I enumerated the obstacles to Mr Breiter's opinion that V has no value independent of M, he will find that those obstacles have vanished away. Nothing remains of them but *attritis* in iii 350; and this, as I said, may be a conjectural emendation, though it is somewhat above V's usual level of conjecture. All the rest repose upon Mr Ellis's account<sup>1</sup> of M, and that account is never once borne out by Loewe's. I accede therefore to Mr Breiter's opinion: V is not an independent authority; it presents no reading which cannot be explained on the hypothesis that V is either immediately or ultimately derived from M.

Indeed U's claim to be reckoned an independent authority is quite as good as V's. Here is a list of passages where U has a true reading which is not in M, or a reading nearer to the truth than M's. Where R, of which I shall speak presently, agrees with U, I record the fact.

- |                                                             |                                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i 139 <i>prohibent</i> U, <i>prohibet</i> M.                | iv 28 <i>fulmina</i> U, <i>flumina</i> M.                                         |
| 455 <i>figit</i> U ex corr. (so Scaliger), <i>pingit</i> M. | 314 <i>ducitur</i> U, <i>dicitur</i> M.                                           |
| 829 <i>rediret</i> UR, <i>redit</i> M.                      | 399 <i>precio</i> U ( <i>pretio</i> R), <i>preuo</i> M.                           |
| ii 55 <i>gustarint</i> U, <i>gustarunt</i> M.               | 516 <i>sorore</i> U ( <i>sorori</i> R), <i>sori</i> M.                            |
| 180 <i>conexo</i> U, <i>cōnexo</i> M.                       | 722 <i>et Syriam</i> ] <i>cisyriam</i> U, <i>cisyram</i> M.                       |
| 260 <i>unum</i> UR, <i>urium</i> M.                         | 750 <i>et Syriæ</i> ] <i>e sirie</i> (corr. in <i>et s.</i> ) U, <i>e sire</i> M. |
| 399 <i>ualent</i> UR, <i>manent</i> M.                      | 776 <i>Caesar melius</i> ] <i>cesar meus</i> U, <i>caesarque meus</i> M.          |
| 692 <i>possis</i> UR, <i>poscis</i> M.                      | 783 <i>centauro</i> U, <i>centaure</i> M.                                         |
| fin. <i>Manili</i> U, <i>Manlii</i> M (?). <sup>2</sup>     | 784 <i>minois</i> U, <i>minuis</i> M.                                             |
| iii 26 <i>uela</i> UR, <i>uella</i> M.                      | 792 <i>helicen</i> U, <i>helicem</i> M.                                           |
| 144 <i>miscere</i> U, <i>miserere</i> M.                    | v 13 <i>heroum</i> UR, <i>heorum</i> M.                                           |
| 188 <i>ad lunam</i> U, <i>alunam</i> M.                     | 15 <i>cetus</i> ] <i>cetum</i> U, <i>cecum</i> M.                                 |
| 310 <i>foedere</i> , UR, <i>foere</i> M.                    | 46 <i>ortus</i> ] <i>portus</i> UR, <i>portur</i> M.                              |
| 316 <i>litoreumne</i> U, <i>litoreumue</i> M.               | 106 <i>corda</i> U (so Carrio), <i>coda</i> M.                                    |
| 402 <i>tribuatur</i> U, <i>tribuantur</i> M.                | 426 <i>diducet</i> U, <i>dicucet</i> M.                                           |
| fin. <i>Manili</i> U ( <i>Manilii</i> R), <i>Milnili</i> M. |                                                                                   |

Most of these can be explained as emendations, and many of them are easy emendations: for instance *Manili* at the end of ii and iii could be restored by anyone who referred to the end of i. Some, like ii 180 *conexo*, may be nothing but accidents. iv 776 *Caesar meus*, as I have argued on p. xxx of my edition of Book i, was probably the reading of the Manilian archetype; but its apparition in U seems due merely to the scribe's bad habit of omitting *que*, a negligence which recurs ten lines below at iv 786. One only of these lections is an obstacle to the

<sup>1</sup> Even the strangest-seeming of Mr Ellis's errors, if errors they are, are not inexplicable. *hac geritur* is the reading of M at i 552, and Mr Ellis may have transferred to i 532 his note on that verse. *possidet orbem* ends an hexameter at Luc. i 110 and Claud. in Rufin. ii 451 and I daresay elsewhere, and some trick of memory may have caused Mr Ellis to write down this phrase instead of *condidit orbem* at iv 776. *doceatque* stands in the text at iv 918, and Mr Ellis, like the scribe of a, may have repeated it in iv 919

when he meant to write *cogatque*.

Mr Ellis's recently published edition of the appendix Vergiliana supplies a parallel. In u. 534 of the *ciris* the codex Arundelianus 133 has *sidere* according to the silence of Baehrens but *munere* according to the express statement of Mr Ellis. I have looked at the MS and I find that it has *sidere*: Mr Ellis's eye has wandered to the line above, where *munere* occurs.

<sup>2</sup> So Ellis: Loewe has imitated the ductus litterarum, and they look something like MANLLI.



belief that U is derived from M: the *ualent* of ii 399. A scribe of the 15th century would have found no more fault with *manent* than Jacob did; and even if by any chance he had tried to emend it he would never have hit upon the true reading preserved in G and L<sup>2</sup>. Nor can it well be supposed that U and R drew *ualent* from G or L<sup>2</sup> or any other member of the family *a*; for they nowhere show any clear trace of access to that family, unless it be here.<sup>1</sup> But our assurance that *manent* is the reading of M rests upon no statement either of Loewe's or of Mr Ellis's: it rests upon their silence; and until I have definite evidence to the contrary I shall suspect that they have both committed an oversight, and that the reading of M, as of UR, is really *ualent*. To make the double oversight credible let me quote what seems to be another: at v 239 Jacob's misprint *fronte* is passed over in silence by both witnesses, and should therefore be the reading of M; but when all other MSS have *fronde* this is by no means likely.

In R conjectural alterations are bolder and more numerous, and the corrections of modern critics are not uncommonly forestalled. Thus i 194 *natura tibi* (Lachmann) for *tibi natura*, ii 839 *coniugia atque* (Bentley) for *coniugiatque atque*, 877 *exstiterunt* (Scaliger) for *exstiterint*, iv 650 *perinde* (Rossberg) for *perunde*, v 497 *contemnere* (Ellis) for *contenere*, are all in R. At v 479 the true reading *externis* (found also in the Cusanus, a MS of the family *a*) may be an accident rather than an emendation of *hesternis*, for these two words are perpetually interchanged; while at iv 412 it seems to be an accident pure and simple that the *quae sexussurat* of R comes nearer in one particular to the true reading *quas exusserit* than does the *quae sexus erat* of M.

Positive proof that one MS has been copied from another is often unattainable; and the chief strength of the position that U and R and V are derived from M is the fact that among their hundreds and thousands of variants there is virtually nothing against it. Anyhow the superiority of M is so great that the three other MSS are negligible in comparison. To take one point only: each of them omits verses which M contains, and none of them contains a verse which M omits.<sup>2</sup> In the case of U however there is one phenomenon which amounts very nearly to proof positive. The verse i 744 'quid querimur flammas totum saeuisse per orbem' stands thus in M:

quid querimur flammas totum <sup>eui</sup>sciuisse per orbem.

The *eui*, written above by a later hand, is meant to correct *sciuisse* into *seuisse*. In U the verse is

quid querimur flammas totum eui per orbem.

*eui* has been mistaken for a correction of the whole word.

<sup>1</sup> One delusive example I will remove. At i 697 (*Cassiopeia petens super ipsum Persea transit*) the reading of M is given by Mr Ellis as *Casi que pia*<sup>o</sup> *super ipsum persea tangit*, U has *Casiopia petens ipsum persea transit* and R *Casiope petens supra ipsum persea transit*: whence did these two MSS

get their *petens* and their *transit* if not from *a*? Well, Loewe, as I have recorded already, knows nothing of any *tangit* for *transit* in M; and as to *petens* he states that *Cassiopeia petens* is given by M man. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Except of course that M's first page has now been torn away.

As to the relation between these three apographs of M, they are mutually independent. That R is not derived from U nor U from R is rendered plain enough by the lections from the first 200 lines of the poem given on p. xi of my prolegomena to Book i; but the shortest and simplest way of proving that all three are separately descended from their source is the following. U omits the verses ii 184, 416-419, iii 31, 302, iv 227, 228, 298-301, 456-459, 718, 719, 777, 849, v 403-406, 442, 533, 738, which are not omitted by R or V (except that V does not begin till ii 684 or thereabouts). R omits the verses ii 166-168, 264, iv 638, 639, 894, which are not omitted by U or V. V omits the verses v 52, 488-503, 515 (= 510 Bechert), 550, which are not omitted by U or R.

Of the three copies, U is the most faithful on the whole and R the least. The special frailty of the scribe of U is that he soon takes fright at anything which is not, or does not seem to be, a Latin word, and often, instead of copying letter by letter the barbarous or meaningless forms which he has before him, leaves empty gaps. V is quite undismayed by barbarisms, and is also freer than U from attempts at emendation, except that it frequently substitutes the current spelling of the 15th century for the genuine orthography of M; but these advantages are more than outweighed by its errors of ignorance and negligence. In the last two books however, whether the scribe of U grew more careless or the scribe of V became more expert, the two MSS are much on an equality. The scribe of R was more competent and less scrupulous than either. He deciphered the original with more ease, read it with more intelligence, and emended it with more success; but he also allowed himself wider licence and in consequence has inflicted deeper wounds.

In conclusion I will quote from Loewe's collation a number of orthographical details hitherto unrecorded. They are cases in which it would be inferred from Mr Ellis's silence that the spelling of Jacob's text is also the spelling of M, but Loewe expressly states the contrary. Any confirmation of Loewe's testimony which U or R or V may furnish I will add; but where on the other hand they agree with Jacob's text, as they often do, in exhibiting the late or the customary spelling, I shall not trouble to note the fact, which is without significance.

i 95 *sollercia* (*sollertia* R). 149 *atherias* (*aetherias* UR). 273 *adsuetas* (U). 282 *aetherios* (R, *accherios* U). 392 *ad* (UR). 498 *noctes* (UR). 540 *optineat* man. 1. 649 *facilis* (UR). 802 *aetherii* (U). 910 *harena* (U).

ii 31 *cignum* (R, *signum* U). 100 (also 201, 876, iii 48, 241, 244, 297, iv 766) *cum* (UR). 177 *autumnus* (UR). 187 *arquitenens* (UR). 237 *complentes*. 294 *partis* (UR). 441 *Iuppiter*. 504 *arquitenens* (R, *equitenens* U). 582 *umquam*. 639 *commutant*. 878 *compulsi*.

iii 68 *quicumque* (V). 107 *compositum*. 146 *omnes* (URV). 367 *numquam*. iv 69 *quod* (URV). 71 *sepulchris* (URV). 89 *breuioris* (URV). 92 *sepulchrum* (UV). 200 *impedit*. 208 *imposuit*. 297 *partes* (URV). 305 *compendia*. 342 *componit*. 375 *quod* (R). 540 *umquam* (UV). 550 *inponet*. 594 *expirant* (UR). 774 *imperium* (V). 805 *complectenda*. 905 *imposuit*. 907 *aspectat* (URV). 915 *adque* (V).

v 47 *substuleris* (URV). 48 *adpulsam* (UV). 112 *numquam*. 231 *artes* (URV). 356 *expectare* (URV). 383 *inmurmurat*. 459 *coturno* (URV). 496 *cumque*. 527 *harenas*.



(URV). 552 *adstrinxere* (RV). 634 *ecus* (UR, *etus* V). 648 *adtollit*. 659 *caedes* (U). 666 *expectant* (URV). 676 *communem*. 694 *ad* (URV). 721 *sūmota* (URV). 730 *harenae* (RV).

One of these readings has, in its small way, a special interest. F. A. Wolf litt. anal. i p. 61, discussing Bentley's observation on the genitive case of substantives ending in *-ius* and *-ium*, relates that he has employed 'an accurate young man' to read Manilius through and examine his usage. He gives the results of this investigation (which show that the young man was not so accurate as Wolf supposed, for he has overlooked the frequent occurrence of *Aquari* and *Sagittari*); he adds comments of his own (which show that Wolf was not very well equipped for metrical researches, inasmuch as he mentions the absence of *spati* and *consili* as a relevant fact); and his last sentence is this: 'das allersonderbarste ist, dass auch kein *dubii*, *medii* und dergleichen adjective Casus vorkommen'. Now it might already have been seen that this observation, though accurate, was fallacious. It is true that the editions and MSS of Manilius presented i 802 as follows,

altius aetherei quam candet circulus orbis ;

but in the Augustan age the adjective was *aetherius*, and Manilius must have written *aetherii*. We now find this form preserved in U and R and recorded by Loewe as the reading of M. Indeed there are now only two places, i 561 and v 10, where the joint silence of Loewe and Mr Ellis leaves us to infer that M agrees with Jacob in giving *aethereos*. And even their joint silence I distrust, for in both places R, like G at any rate among the MSS of the family *a*, has *aetherios*.

Last of all, out of those places in which M is evidently hard to decipher, and Loewe sees one letter while Mr Ellis sees another, I will mention i 423, where M, instead of the *dubitavit* of *a*, gives *esurcione* according to Mr Ellis but according to Loewe *esurtione*, which is one letter nearer to my conjecture (Class. Rev. 1903 p. 343) *eguit loue*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## THE *HERACLIDAE* OF EURIPIDES.

### HAS OUR TEXT OF THIS PLAY BEEN MUTILATED OR REVISED?

SINCE Hermann first suggested the likelihood of a considerable loss of verses from the text of the *Heracidae* it has been generally assumed that the play has suffered either from some mischance in the copying of the manuscript or else at the hand of an interpolator. Hermann held that the end of the play had been lost: 'Fabulae extrema pars videtur intercidisse, in qua fieri non poterat quin de Macaria referretur, eaque res solitis celebraretur lamentis.' Kirchhoff places the lacuna after line 629:<sup>1</sup> 'Post hunc versum multa desunt. Macariae narratio et Alcmenae matris [*sic*] lamentationes cum chori cantico integro; novit hanc fabulae partem auctor argumenti: ταύτην μὲν εὐγενῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐτίμησαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιγινόντες παρόντας εἰς τὴν μάχην ὤρμησαν.' Wilamowitz<sup>2</sup> argues against the assumption of a 'mechanischer Ausfall' of a whole passage, and maintains that the play has been revised by a fourth century *régisseur* in order to adapt it to the capacity of his theatrical troupe.

I believe that these assumptions of a mutilation or revision of the play rest on a misconception of its motive and of the circumstances in which it was written. When these are understood, its *ἄλογα* are sufficiently accounted for.

The reasons for assuming a lacuna or a revision are four: the shortness of the play, the absence of any mention of Macaria and her self-sacrifice after line 627, the testimony of the hypothesis, and the fact that lines exist which are attributed to the *Heracidae* that do not appear in the text. There is also a parodying line in the *Knights* of Aristophanes which is referred by the scholiast to the *Heracidae* for which no parallel is to be found in our text.

The shortness of the play is in itself no strong argument for its mutilation. There must be a shortest play, and the difference between the 1065 lines of the *Heracidae* and the 1230 lines of the *Suppliants* is less striking than the difference between the length of the *Suppliants* and that of the *Ion* of 1620 lines or that of the *Phoenissae* of 1765. Aeschylus's extant plays with the exception of the *Agamemnon*, which is much longer, are of about the same length as the *Heracidae*.

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff *ad locum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, 17, pp. 345 ff.



The absence of any reference to Macaria after the scene in which she goes away to die is a more important consideration. The hypothesis states that she was honoured after her noble death before they started to go to battle. This may be referred to the chorus 608 ff. in which occur these lines concerning Macaria :

εὐδόκιμον γὰρ ἔχει θανάτου μέρος  
 ἃ μελέα πρό τ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ γᾶς,  
 οὐδ' ἀκλεῆς νιν  
 δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται.

The hypothesis has some inaccuracies which forbid its statements to be taken *au pied de la lettre*. It declares that Iolaus comes εἰς Ἀθήνας, that the oracle commands them to sacrifice τὴν εὐγενεστάτην of the maidens, and that the sacrifice is to be made to Demeter, whereas according to the play the suppliants come to Marathon, the sacrifice is to be of any maiden, ἥτις εὐγενής, and the offering made to the daughter of Demeter.

Kirchhoff, believing that the hypothesis indicates a more extended mention of Macaria's death, supposes that after the choral passage just referred to a scene has fallen out in which a messenger brings the tale of Macaria's ending, and the chorus and Alcmena lament her death. Wilamowitz demonstrated the weak point in this theory in arguing that it would be by a strange chance that a passage should fall out which extends exactly from the close of one chorus to the close of another. He dwells also, on the improbability of Iolaus's lying on the ground through a whole scene. Then there is the difficulty involved in Alcmena's return to the temple according to the theory that she has come out before line 646. She is entirely oblivious of Macaria's fate when she does appear. To reconcile these contradictions, Wilamowitz supposes that a reviser has struck out a whole episode and has changed the following part in order to conceal the loss. The reviser's object has been to get rid of choruses and of melodramatic parts which would overtax the capacity of his theatrical troupe. He had no desire to plagiarize, he has cut down the *παλαιὰ τραγῳδία* for a very practical purpose.

The theory is ingenious, but unconvincing. Why did this hypothetical fourth-century manager select precisely 'das unbedeutendste Stück das wir von (Euripides) haben' to revive for an audience which could no longer thrill to its main theme? The play is a 'Gelegenheitstück,' and as such had its great interest for its audience in the year of the first Archidamian invasion. The poet's hot anger against the Spartans who have entered his hitherto ἀπόρρητος χώρα was felt by every Athenian and finds noble expression in the Funeral Oration of Pericles of the same year. There are many traits in the *Heraclidae* which reflect the events of the year 431 B.C., and the first part of the second book of Thucydides forms an admirable commentary on the play. But the *Heraclidae*, aside from its historical interest, is of little value. The characters are conventional and artificial. Wilamowitz lays stress on the lifelessness of the character of the heroine Macaria and the small importance attached to her deed of self-sacrifice: 'dass wir es so gar nicht



für so sehr heroisch halten können, wenn sie ein Gut wegwirft, das bei ihr so gering im Preise steht.' Euripides is not interested in Macaria. She is part of the mechanism of his play, his war-drama, the fire and passion of which is contained in the glorification of Athens and hatred of her enemies the Argives, who form a thin dramatic veil for the Spartans, the actual invaders of Athens at the time the play was written. Wilamowitz believes that passion and the proper appreciation of Macaria's deed are given by the poet in an excited debate in which Alcmena opposes the sacrifice. This the reviser has omitted as demanding too much from his incompetent company. Then followed, according to Wilamowitz, a messenger's tale of the death of the heroine 'unter Frauenhänden,' according to the wish expressed by her (line 565). Wilamowitz declares that the reviser has overlooked this wish, and has later interpolated the lines (820 ff.)

ἔσφαζον, οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ἀφίεσαν  
 λαιμῶν βροτείων εὐθὺς οὐριον φόνον.

This he regards as an express contradiction to lines 565-66: 'Die Jungfrau fordert den Tod unter Weiberhänden, Demophon verspricht es, und hier opfern sie die μάντις hinter der Schlachtreihe.' But there is in reality no contradiction between the two passages. In the first Macaria has asked Iolaus to follow her as she goes to the horror of death, for she wishes to die in his arms (σῇ γὰρ ἐνθανεῖν χερὶ θέλω) and she desires him to cover her body with a robe. He replies that he has not the strength to be present at her death. Since she cannot die in his arms she then asks him to seek for her the boon of breathing out her life in the arms of women:

ἐν γυναικῶν χερσὶν ἐκπνεῦσαι βίον.

The μάντις of the army naturally perform the ceremonial act indicated throughout by the verb σφάζειν=to cut the victim's throat. The women would take the place of the ἄοχοι of *Ag.* 231 ff. and the νεανίαι of *Hec.* 545, and would receive her as she fell. Compare also the interpolated close of the *Aulid Iphigenia*, line 1559.

πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ ψεύσῃ τις Ἀργείων ἐμοῦ. κ.τ.λ.

In the *Tauric Iphigenia* the priestess herself, although she sacrifices the human victims (617 θύσει), does not, being a woman, strike the sacrificial blow. The σφαγεύς is within the temple (623-624). In the *Heraclidae* there is express mention of the fact that the sacrificial offering has been placed far from the battle-line, 672.

καὶ δὴ παρήκται σφάγια τάξεων ἐκάς.

Wilamowitz regards this as a stupidity on the part of the interpolator, alleging that the latter here confuses the sacrifice of Macaria to Persephone with the conventional καλλιερῆσαι. He also maintains that Macaria's death should have preceded the going forth of the army and the challenge of Eurystheus by Hyllos



to a single combat. It is evident, however, that Euripides represents Macaria's death as the substitute for the regular offering before battle, often made to a special deity such as Artemis (compare Stengel *Kulturhandlungen, Handbuch d. klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, pp. 81 ff.).

The alleged inconsistency emphasized by Wilamowitz disappears then, since (1) Macaria could not have asked and did not ask to be killed by women, and (2) it cannot be argued from the silence of the poet that women were not present at the sacrifice of which no description is given.

That Macaria disappears from the play entirely is, of course, striking, and we must compare with the treatment of her fate the similar shift of interest in the *Hecuba* and in the *Andromache*. Demophon and Iolaus vanish too, and the stage is left to the bitter strife of Alcmena and Eurystheus in which political references to events of the year 431 B.C. are most evident. Here the myth and the dramatic interest are entirely subordinated to matters of the day over which all Athens was in excitement:—the Spartan invasion, the Plataean affair, the friendship of Argos for Athens, and her hostility cherished from of old against Sparta. Eurystheus, king of Argos, becomes the ally of Athens, will defend her against the invading host of the descendants of the suppliant Heraclidae. Alcmena, protégée of Athens, takes cruel vengeance on her foe, against the express wish of Athens and against the common laws of Hellas invoked by her victim. Compare Thuc. ii. 6, iii. 67. 6 τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ ὑπὸ τῶνδε παραβαθέντι. But Athens though hating the foe keeps her hands pure. Macaria has no place in all this. Euripides has forgotten her, and thinks only of his country. So the lines desired by Hermann at the end of the play in which Macaria should be lamented would come most notably κατόπιον ἐορτῆς.

Wilamowitz assigns to the parts excised by the alleged reviser the various lines attributed to the *Heraclidae* which do not appear in it. These are given by Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* under *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta* 852, 853, and 854. It may be noted that only one of them suggests at all the play as we have it. The lines τὸ μὲν σφαγῆναι δεινὸν κ.τ.λ. might be thought of as spoken by Macaria or by any one who was about to face death by the sword. The other two are of an absolutely general character. Moreover only one of the three (852) is referred unquestionably to the *Heraclidae*. The others are referred by their lemmata respectively to the *Heracles* (854) and to the *Antiope* as well as to the *Heraclidae* (833). A glance at the *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta* in Nauck will show how little reliance is to be placed on such references. Compare *inter alia* 846, 847, 849, 850, 856 in Nauck's *Fragmenta*. A theory of a revision of the play should not be built on the existing lines attributed to the *Heraclidae*.

The lament for Macaria desired by Hermann at the end of the play would not be in place. As Wilamowitz says, at the end of the drama as we have it no one has anything left to do on the stage. Kirchhoff's theory of the lacuna in the middle of the play meets with the difficulty of explaining the smoothness of the joining. Compare Wilamowitz cited above—'es wäre auch an sich ein sehr seltsamer

Zufall wenn ein Blattaussfall (an den man doch denken müsste) gerade nach dem Schlusse eines Liedes begonnen, und mit dem Schlusse eines anderen Liedes geendet hätte.'

I hold then, that the faultiness of the structure of the play must be attributed to the poet, not to a reviser or to the work of chance. The *Hecuba* and the *Andromache* show similar defects of composition. The *Heracleidae* is a 'Gelegenheitsstück.' Its heroine is really not Macaria, but Athena, whose land has been invaded.

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## DOUBTFUL SYLLABLES IN IAMBIC SENARII.

MR. DARNLEY NAYLOR'S list of 'ten words which, though they occur in iambic senarii, are never long' is not quite accurate. Omitting ἀποτρέπειν and ἰκνεῖσθαι, which as far as I know are never long, let us consider the remaining eight. (1) ὑγρός. Mr. Darnley Naylor expressly excepts the *Iphigenia in Aulis* from his calculations, but I see no reason for excepting the admittedly genuine part, and μὰ τὸν δι' ὑγρῶν κυμάτων τεθραμμένον | Νηρέα (l. 948) is accepted by Mr. England in his edition (1891). (2) λάθρα is twice long in the *Danae* of Euripides, ll. 28, 38, a passage which also supplies an instance of μακρός, a use denied to Euripides by Mr. Darnley Naylor. (3) μετρεῖν. Athen. xiii. p. 599 cites as from Euripides ἦν οὐδ' ἂν εἴποις, οὐδὲ μετρήσειας ἄν. (4) ὀτρύνω. It must have been by a slip that the two passages in Sophocles are placed under the head of doubtful. In *Electra* 28 it is short, ἡμᾶς τ' ὀτρύνεις: in *Ajax* 771 it is long, ἡνίκ' ὀτρύνουσά νιν. A similar slip must be responsible for the citation as short of the only example of (5) προπίτνω, *Electra* 1380, αἰτῶ, προπίτνω, λίσσομαι. (6) διπλός is to be found long in the *Glaucus Potnieus* of Aeschylus (fr. 30) εἰλκον δ' ἄνω λυκηδόν, ὥστε διπλοῖ | λύκοι κ.τ.λ. Finally though I cannot quote an instance of either μέτριος or ὄκνος used long in senarii, yet they are both lengthened in anapaests, the former in the *Alcestis* 884, the latter in the *Ajax* 139.

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I am grateful to Mr. Herbert W. Greene for drawing attention to my delinquencies. I intentionally omitted the Fragments in my statistics, but ought, of course, to have said so. The purpose of my paper was to show the *relative* frequency of longs and shorts. It would obviously be unfair to record two longs in a fragment when the whole play might contain twenty shorts.

It seems to me that the genuine portions of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* come under the category of fragments. As to my slips in regard to ὀτρύνω and προπίτνω I can only say that I did my best to avoid errors; but mistakes are inevitable when one has recorded many thousands of instances which afterwards require to be counted and classified. Still I do not think that the main position will be affected by any lapses on my part.

I have long ago deposited my *references* with the Editor, and, if Mr. Greene cares to go through them and correct me further, I personally shall be prepared to thank him.

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

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## A PASSAGE IN BRITISH HISTORY.

IN the middle of the third book of his *Histories*, Tacitus records some movements in the western provinces occasioned by the events of 69. The troops in Britain, he says, were partial to Vespasian, who had served there with distinction in the reign of Claudius, and a party was formed in his interest.<sup>1</sup>

'At this dissension, and amid the frequent rumours of civil war, the Britons plucked up courage, under the lead of Venutius, whose native pride, and hatred of the name of Rome, were further inflamed by a personal quarrel with Queen Cartimandua the ruler of the Brigants. Powerful by right of birth, Cartimandua had strengthened her dominion since she had taken Caratacus prisoner by guile and added splendour to the triumph of the Emperor Claudius. Hence came wealth, and the self-indulgence of prosperity; and disdaining Venutius, her husband, she took his squire Vellocatus to share her bed and her throne. This sin divided her house against itself. On the husband's side were the sympathies of the nation, on the paramour's the passion and cruelty of its queen. Accordingly Venutius summoned help, and, aided by a rebellion among the Brigants themselves, he brought Cartimandua into the extremity of peril. Then the Romans were asked to send supports. Some companies and squadrons of our auxiliaries<sup>2</sup> fought with varying result, yet rescued the queen from danger. The kingdom was left to Venutius, the war to us.'

From this passage, taken alone, it is clear that Tacitus regards the successful enterprise of Venutius as inspired by the confusion of the year 69, though in order to explain the state of affairs among the Brigants he has to begin with the seizure of Caratacus in the early fifties.

In his latest work, describing an earlier period, Tacitus relates a part of the Roman operations in Britain which began under Claudius, who reigned from 41 to 54. The following episode occurs<sup>3</sup> :—

'Since the capture of Caratacus, Venutius, who belonged, as I said above,<sup>4</sup> to the nation of the Brigants, was foremost in the art of war: long loyal, and protected by Roman arms while he had Queen Cartimandua to wife; but subsequently a quarrel, and immediately afterwards a war, broke out between them, and he assumed hostilities against us also. But at first the struggle was merely

<sup>1</sup> *H.* iii. 44, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann.* xii. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *cohortes alaeque nostrae.*

<sup>4</sup> Presumably in the lost part of book xi.



between themselves, and by the arts of cunning Cartimandua captured his brother and his kin. Enraged at this, and stung by the ignominy of submitting to the rule of a woman, the enemy broke into her kingdom,<sup>1</sup> a strong and picked band of warriors. This we had foreseen, and cohorts were sent to her aid, which brought on a sharp engagement, whose doubtful beginning was followed by a more satisfactory end. With a like result a battle was fought by a legion under the command of Caesius Nasica; for Didius, burdened with years and abundance of honours, was content to act through his subordinates and to hold the enemy back.<sup>2</sup>

Here is a war not unlike the other, but placed by Tacitus in the last years of Claudius or the first of Nero, while Didius was governor of Britain, probably between 52 and 58.

Are the wars two, or one and the same?

If they are the same, then in the *Histories* Tacitus records as due to the confusion of 69 a war which broke out in 54; he is at least eleven years beside the point; and when he came to write the twelfth book of his *Annals*, he must either have forgotten this passage of his earlier work, or have wished by connecting his story and dating it aright to cover up a gross blunder, without a word of comment or excuse.

The assumption of the identity of the wars, and the charge of carelessness or dishonesty or both which it involves, have often been made or implied,<sup>3</sup> and from the nature of the case they may often be made or implied hereafter unless readers of Tacitus are put on their guard.

The chief differences between the two stories are these:—

(1) In the *Histories* the Romans send auxiliary foot and horse (*cohortes alaeque nostrae*): in the *Annals* cohorts are sent, but also a legion.

(2) In the *Histories* various battles or battles of various issue (*uariis proeliis*) are fought: in the *Annals* the cohorts fight a single battle, which began doubtfully but ended pretty well, and the legion fights with a like result.

(3) In the *Histories* Venutius is left in possession: from the *Annals* we may fairly infer that the Romans, after two or more successful battles, and having a legion on the spot, secured their object and left Cartimandua seated on her throne.

(4) The war related in the *Histories* is assigned to 69, that in the *Annals* to the fifties.

These differences seem to me to form a substantial quorum, and I therefore suppose that Venutius made two attempts to seize the Brigantine throne. In the

<sup>1</sup> regnum.

<sup>2</sup> I have not examined the older histories and commentaries, but up to 1875, according to T. Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, ed. 3, p. 57, it had been 'usual to regard the two notices as relating to one event.' In recent times the identity of the two events is implied by Furneaux and Nipperdey-

Andresen in their notes on *Ann.* xii. 40. To the best of my knowledge, the only writers who clearly distinguish the two stories are T. Wright (*loc. cit.*), Sir James H. Ramsay, *The Foundations of England*, vol. i. p. 61, and Stein in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. Cartimandua.

fifties he failed ; but amid the troubles of 69 he tried again, and the Romans did no more than bring off the queen, leaving him in power and defiant of Rome.

This fits in very well with the progress of the Roman arms in our island. While the Brigants were under a client queen, the northern advance of the Romans was barred ; hence in 61 the ambition of Suetonius Paulinus turns not to the north but to the west. It is the change from a dependent queen to a defiant king which explains why the first governor appointed by Vespasian assailed the Brigants in 71. The tribe then passed from the suzerainty to the dominion of Rome, and the way into Scotland was thus opened for Agricola.

In neither passage has Tacitus given us a clear narrative, and in the *Histories* his sketch of the antecedents of the second attempt of Venutius is incomplete without a reference to the first. But such faults abound in his account of the British wars, and they are far easier to understand and excuse than the blunder of a dozen years or so with which he has been charged.

I may add that in the passage of the *Annals* Nipperdey's conjecture *regiam* for *regnum* is doubly bad : it presupposes, first, that the two stories are one and the same ; and, secondly, that in the *Histories* Venutius begins his attack on Cartimandua from inside the tribe. The latter cannot be inferred from the words of Tacitus.

If my account of these events is right, it is incredible that Cartimandua and the Brigants<sup>1</sup> should have taken a leading part in the great rebellion of 61, as a passage of the *Agricola* implies. The word *Brigantes*, justly suspected on other grounds, must be due to a slip of the memory or of the pen.

E. HARRISON.

*Agr.* 31 : Brigantes femina duce.



## THUCYDIDES *THE MYTHISTORIAN*.

*Thucydides Mythistoricus*. By FRANCIS MACDONALD CORNFORD, Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Edward Arnold, 1907. Pp. xvi+252. Two Collotypes. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. CORNFORD'S study in Thucydides consists of two parts, the first containing 76 pages and entitled *Thucydides Historicus* and the second comprising 172 pages and two full-page illustrations and inscribed *Thucydides Mythicus*. To put the matter crudely, the first is an estimate of failure—in 'history'; and the second an estimate of accomplishment—in 'mythistory.'

Mr. Cornford's criticism of Thucydides the historian may be presented most conveniently in extracts from his own summary of its chapters.

'Thucydides' first Book does not provide either Sparta or Athens with a sufficient motive for fighting.' 'All non-Thucydidean accounts of the outbreak of war make the negotiations turn *solely*<sup>1</sup> on the Megarian decrees. Thucydides records none of these three decrees, and keeps Megarian affairs in the background, suppressing Pericles' connexion with them. The coercion of Megara was the first step in the unofficial policy forced on Pericles by his commercial supporters; the object being to establish a trade-route from the Piræus to the West across the Megarid from Nisaea to Pegæ, and so to cut out Corinth.' 'Thucydides says nothing of earlier Athenian relations with the West, or of the part taken by Pericles in the alliance with Corcyra, though he gives one or two indications that this alliance was a step towards conquest of the West.' 'Thucydides always regarded the Sicilian as an irrelevant diversion, because he never saw its connexion with the Megarian decrees, and could not know that Pericles adopted the anti-Megarian policy only because it was forced upon him.'

'Thucydides' conception of history was different from the modern. He undertakes to record only what was actually done in the war (ἔργα), and the 'accounts' (λόγοι) given by the agents.' 'He says nothing about *causes*, and draws no distinction between αἰτίαι and προφάσεις. The first book is not about causes but '*grievances*' (αἰτίαι)—the story of a feud between Athens and Sparta, which he traces down from the Persian Wars (i. 88-118).

'The only natural *causes* of human events, considered by ancient historians, are *psychological*—the characters and immediate motives of men or of personified states; whereas moderns look for social and economic conditions, etc., and formulate abstract laws.' 'Thucydides had not only no religion and no philosophy, but no *science* or scientific conceptions. He limits himself to recording observed actions and alleged motives.'

<sup>1</sup> The italics in the quotations from Mr. Cornford here and throughout this notice are his own.



The Lacedaemonian demand for the rescission of the decrees against Megara was an ultimatum; and Mr. Cornford is unquestionably right in making the investigation of their significance a cardinal point. Unless those decrees were dictated by pure vindictiveness, and it was now some fourteen years since the Megarid had passed out of Athenian control, their aim could only be to force the Megarians to become the subjects or the submissive allies of Athens. Why then was this design pressed at the risk of war by Athens and resisted at the same risk not merely by Corinth but by the rest of the Peloponnesian confederacy? Mr. Cornford says because the possession of Megara, of Nisaea, its eastern and of Pegae, its western port would have established Athens as a dangerous rival to Corinth in the transisthmal commerce with the West and with Sicily and Italy in particular. That this was a real danger, he gives us good reason for believing. But it was not the only one nor the chief one. About the commercial interests of Corinth in the transpontine West Sparta knew little and cared less. But it was vital for her, and for her commercial neighbour likewise, that no restless and unfriendly power should be able to close at will the overland routes of trade and war between the Morea and Northern Greece. And what held for Sparta held for Boeotia also.

From more than one passage of Thucydides, not overlooked by Mr. Cornford, it appears that on these Megarian decrees hinged the question of peace or war. He tells us however, p. 29, that

'no one reading the whole story in Thucydides, and unacquainted with the other evidence, would gather this impression. Such a reader would be left with the idea that the decree was in itself, as Pericles calls it<sup>1</sup>, "a trifling matter" exaggerated by the Spartans, and merely held to by the Athenians as a point of honour. He would never discover that there were *three* decrees, each more stringent than the last, or that the second was moved by Pericles himself, or that, by this "trifling matter," Megara was reduced nearly to starvation.'

This criticism takes, as it would seem, insufficient account of two not unimportant factors in the case—the habitual reserve of the historian and his avowed and uniform method of presenting a political situation. To Thucydides an express and triple mention of the decrees (i. 139 § 1, 140 § 6, 144 § 2) may well have seemed sufficient: he would, I fear, have counted for but a 'dull elf' a reader who should have failed to gather their importance. As to the second point the Megarian decrees were not an end but a means—a means, moreover, which had not as yet attained its object. Was it likely that Pericles would commit the blunder of proclaiming in public the nature of the designs which these decrees implied? In Thucydides he adroitly turns the question from the character of the decrees to the character of the Lacedaemonian demands and plays upon the chord of national susceptibility which can ever be relied on to answer with the note of war. 'This,' he says, and we can imagine how the Pnyx rang to the cheers, 'is not expostulation but dictation, βούλονται πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντες ἤδη καὶ οὐκέτι αἰτιώμενοι πάρεσι. He says in effect, This

<sup>1</sup> This is not quite exact: but let it pass.



'small matter,' as the peace party would have it to be, the mere reversal of a resolution of your own, is in truth a national surrender, which will expose you to still further indignities.

It would thus appear that the coercion of Megara did not by any means necessarily involve the Western policy, the Sicily-via-Megara extension as we may call it; and there is no reason why Pericles should not have moved the second Megarian decree with the object of regaining for Athens the position in Greece proper that she had lost in 447-6. Why should he shrink from supporting a measure whose success would have secured the frontiers of his country<sup>1</sup>, because it might tempt his countrymen to ambitions of which he did not at that moment approve?<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Cornford thinks that the conception of a Western policy is earlier than we should have gathered from Thucydides. And in this he appears to be right. But there is nothing to show that in its initial stages it had any connexion with the subjection of Megara. And to put it in a word, the new theory is less comprehensive and satisfying as an explanation of the facts than that already put forward by Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* (1904) III. ii. pp. 810, 817.

'The more the political horizon darkened, the more imperious grew the desire at Athens to regain possession of Megara and the Megarian passes to cover Attica against Peloponnesian attacks, and at the same time to break the connexion between the Peloponnese and Boeotia' (p. 810).

'This [the subjection of Megara] the Corinthians could not tolerate. For apart from the consideration that with the possession of Megara Athens would have become their immediate neighbour and have commanded the Megarian passes, it would, from Nisaea and Pagai, have controlled the Corinthian waters. Furthermore the possession of Pagai would have relieved the Athenians from the necessity of carrying their trade to the West round the Peloponnese. They would have caught up the lead of Corinth and become a far more formidable rival to her than hitherto in the commerce of the world' (p. 817).

To pass to another question, Thucydides has not told us, it is said, what the 'cause' of the Peloponnesian war was, nor could he have told us, for he did not know what a 'cause' was. In order to show what a 'cause' is, I had better quote Mr. Cornford again (pp. 65 *sq.*).

When we had observed the rise of a commercial population in the Piraeus and noted that Corinth was well situated to control the stream of trade from Sicily across the isthmus, it occurred to us that Megara was on the same isthmus and presented the only weak point which the Piraeus, with designs of expansion westward, could attack. The result was that, whereas there was no possible connexion between such isolated psychological facts as the

<sup>1</sup> 'Holding Megara, she had a strong frontier against the Peloponnesus, commanding the isthmus from Pagae on the Corinthian to Nisaea on the Saronic bay . . . Thus [by the building of the Long Walls to Nisaea] the eastern coast-road was under her control, and Attica had a strong bulwark against invasion by land.'—Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. ix, section 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pericles, it should be remembered, was not opposed to the extension of the Athenian empire in itself, but to its extension during the operations of the war. Nor was he opposed to Athenians turning their attention to the West in particular, as he showed by the part he played in the foundation of Thurii.



alarm of the Spartans, the personal ambitions of Cleon and Alcibiades, and the virtuous moderation of the Megarian people, the connexion between the elements and factors in the 'situation' we considered was obvious. Hence we could perceive that the whole war, the Sicilian enterprise, and the attack on Megara could all be traced to one and the same set of causes, which governed the entire train of events.'

Of the class of 'causes' here had in view, of economic material causes Thucydides certainly knew nothing. But is the conception of 'cause' thus to be circumscribed? Shall it take no account of personal and, above all of national character and motives? Can we in this century and this country maintain that the existence of an expansive powerful and martial nationality with its soul bent on a *Weltpolitik* (and Athenian enterprise was by no means limited to Athens and Corcyra) would not of itself produce such apprehension and irritation that it might with perfect propriety be called the 'cause' of the war? And this, it is clear from i. 23. 4, was the judgment of Thucydides. Mr. Cornford lays some stress on the fact that Thucydides has no distinctive word for 'cause,' *aitia* not having as yet thrown off the earlier senses of 'blameworthiness, charge, responsibility.' This opens the very interesting but not less difficult question how far the absence of a concept can be presumed from the absence of a distinct expression for it. The time has gone by when it could be thought that the scantiness of words for colours in the ancient and particularly in the Homeric vocabulary argued a defect of vision in the users. Thucydides, it is clear to any close observer of his language, is an example of a thinker struggling to express himself in a medium not yet adapted for his purpose, and I am inclined to believe that his conception of causation, though not explicit in a single abstract, was for practical purposes sufficient.

The second and major part of Mr. Cornford's study consists of an attempt to investigate an element

'in the impression left on our minds by the work as a whole. . . . which is not accounted for by the author's avowed method and design.'

He says, p. 79,

'We are vaguely, but unmistakably, conscious of an artistic effect of the whole. . . . We are further aware that this artistic unity is closely bound up with the worth and beauty of the book and with its appeal to a modern mind.'

The existence of such an element in the narrative of Thucydides has long been recognized, though this recognition has not always taken the same form. The non-prosaic character of his work was apparent to the ancient critic Dionysius, who 'will not shrink from calling the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides poetical compositions' *ποιησεις*.<sup>2</sup> H. Müller-Strübing, in a striking article in the *Neue Jahrbücher*,<sup>3</sup> characterizes the work as 'a didactic martial epic,' and the epithet

<sup>1</sup> The account of the development of the meaning of *aitia* in Liddell and Scott is more correct than that in J. H. Schmidt's *Griech. Synonymik. Causa*, (for which I accept Conway's derivation) Verner's *Law*

in *Italy*, p. 72) and Ger. *Sache* (*Ursache*) are also of forensic origin.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist. ad Pomp.* i. p. 777.

<sup>3</sup> xxxi (1885), pp. 289 sqq.



'dramatic' has been applied to him so often that it now seems to adhere to his personality. Mr. Cornford's pursuit of this element leads him to conclusions which may be summed up roughly as follows. Thucydides, under the domination of a form of thought from which his age had not shaken itself free, and powerfully affected, as a literary artist, by the compelling genius of Aeschylus,<sup>1</sup> fails to carry out his genuine and honest intention of narrating the facts as they occurred. This presentation was insensibly but continuously shaped and coloured by a transfiguring imagination, before which flitted semi-personal abstractions, such as Fortune and Desire, invested with an invisible but irresistible potency over mortal destinies and conduct. To the influence of such existences events are unconsciously subordinated, and history is made to read lessons which the literal reproduction of the facts would fail to provide. Thus to take the first and the most striking of Mr. Cornford's examples (in chapter vi 'The Luck of Pylos') Thucydides' account of the operations at Pylos and Sphacteria has been profoundly modified by the prepossession that the events were manifestations of the activity of an unseen Τύχη. To review Mr. Cornford's arguments, criticisms, and contentions within the limits that must be assigned to this notice is clearly impossible. But since his is preeminently a book which may be expected to have both sequels and followers, it will be useful to put in as sharp a form as possible a crucial issue in Mr. Cornford's argument; and to draw the attention both of author and readers to certain defects in the treatment which, whether they happen to vitiate his conclusions in the present volume or not, may be relied on sooner or later to betray him or others into serious error.

The issue is that raised in chapter vi, which is headed THE LUCK OF PYLOS and begins thus

'The first episode in the History which presents features apparently inexplicable on the supposition that Thucydides is working on his avowed plan and certainly not fully explained by any hypothesis yet advanced by modern criticism, is the story of the occupation of Pylos.'

The avowed plan of Thucydides is that set forth in i. 22, and thus adequately represented by Mr. Cornford

Of the *events*—what actually was done in the war, I have thought fit not to write from any chance information, nor yet according to any notion of my own, but to record those at which I was present, or which I heard of from others, with the greatest possible accuracy of investigation. To discover these facts was laborious, because those who were present at the various events differed in their reports of the same occurrences according to the state of their memories or as they sympathized with one side or the other.'

And the account given by Thucydides is 'apparently inexplicable' because he has represented

'as fortuitous a series of events which we, after some reflection, can see to have been in great measure designed' (p. 97).

<sup>1</sup> The influence of Aeschylus upon Thucydides is probably exaggerated by Mr. Cornford. He does not seem to allow for the loss of the major part of contemporary Greek literature.



It may be taken that for no series of events, except such as Thucydides himself had witnessed,<sup>1</sup> were his sources of information likely to be better than for the one now being considered. The expedition was recent, its results had been most striking, those who had taken part in it had returned to Athens, and Thucydides was still there.<sup>2</sup> It was not like Athenian politicians to efface themselves when their policy had achieved a brilliant success, and if the series of events had been designed, every one in Athens must have known of the design. But the issue can be narrowed still further. There is nothing in the whole Thucydidean narrative of which Mr. Cornford speaks so contemptuously as the account of the fortification of Pylos,—‘mudlarking’ he calls it more than once. Now Pylos was fortified either voluntarily or by command, and ‘Thucydides’ informant in the first narrative (the siege of Pylos), who was one of the defenders of Pylos’ (p. 86 note), must have known which. If it was by order, he must so have told Thucydides. Now what Thucydides writes iv. 3. 2 *sqq.* is this, ὁ Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἤξιον τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον... ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγούς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐνέπεσε περιστάσιν ἐκτειλίσαι τὸ χωρίον. Mr. Cornford says that the historian’s ‘representation’ of the events of Pylos and Sphacteria as fortuitous was ‘deliberate.’ But this would be something more. It would be deliberate *fabrication*, and as cunning as anything in Defoe.

The first words of Mr. Cornford’s chapter vi which I have already quoted suggest two questions, to which we would gladly find an answer. First, *why* is this episode of Pylos the *first* in which the new influence has warped the narrative of Thucydides? Why are there no traces before of a gradual decline, of partial aberration from veracity? *Nemo repente fuit mythistoricissimus*. Secondly we are naturally curious to know how the author would deal with the difficulties which have been felt with reference to the siege of Plataea.<sup>3</sup> Does Mr. Cornford accept or reject the Thucydidean account? And if he rejects it, how does he explain its genesis? It is full of details which, if false, must have been sheer inventions of somebody.

Mr. Cornford, though imputing to Thucydides deliberate perversion of the events through which Cleon rose to military distinction, will not for a moment allow that, in his account of the Sphacteria incident and elsewhere the historian ‘has misrepresented the facts *because* he had a personal grudge against him.’ If so, Mr. Cornford asks,

‘What are we to say of an historian who began his work with an austere profession of fidelity to truth and then distorted his narrative, concealed facts with the deliberate purpose of discrediting a politician who had been instrumental in causing his own banishment?’ (p. 80).

The ‘deliberate’ misrepresentations of ‘malignity’ are not easy to reconcile

<sup>1</sup> I assume with Mr. Cornford that he was not present in person at the operations in Pylos and Sphacteria.

<sup>2</sup> He was strategus in the following year.

<sup>3</sup> Especially by Müller-Strübing in the paper already cited.



with the personal character which we love to attribute to Thucydides. But it is not from this quarter that the truth is chiefly or most commonly imperilled. The prime danger comes from an unconscious and involuntary bias which, in the present case, Mr. Cornford has not disproved nor indeed sought to disprove.

I will set down here an illustration of this which I noted when I was reading this book, not because it is of any special importance in itself, but because it came pat to show how, even when the facts are fully known to a writer, unconscious bias will pervert both truth and reason. A number of persons were recently accused of agrarian outrage, they were three times put upon their trial and on each occasion the jury failed to agree. The matter gave rise to interrogations in the House of Commons, but Ministers' replies were not such as to satisfy the *Irish News*. Accordingly in its issue and its placards of July 11 this paper had the following announcements

IRISH JURIES FLOUTED.  
RETRIED AFTER THREE ACQUITTALS,

in these seven words asserting the evident falsehood that an 'acquitted' prisoner can be tried a second time, and the patent fallacy that the majorities on all the three juries *must* have been in favour of an acquittal, when in every case it was at least equally probable that there was a majority for condemnation.

But Mr. Cornford's handling of this topic is open to criticism on other and broader grounds. He argues that certain hypotheses of motive are inconsistent with the character of Thucydides. Thus apropos of the Sphacteria narrative he writes on p. 95

'We are told either that Thucydides is "moralizing" on the uncertainty of war, or that he is actuated by some personal "feeling" of malignity, and indulging it in detraction. The first of these hypotheses is, in our opinion, a grave charge against him as a man of sense; the second is a still graver charge against his moral character.'<sup>1</sup>

To infer the character of Thucydides, which is otherwise unknown, from indications which we fancy that we have discovered in his writings and then to use this inference to exclude hypotheses which but for it would be admissible or even plausible comes perilously near towards arguing in a circle. Mankind cannot apparently be too often warned not to confuse the writer with the person nor ideal with moral elevation. While therefore we may amuse our human curiosity by drawing pictures of the man whom we believe to have been Thucydides, we must keep these fancies out of our estimates of his work as history and art. Thucydides is a consummate artist. His reserve is known to all: *miramur ut unum Scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti*. This reserve we shall do well to copy and to refuse to conclude anything as to his character from the fact that 'he could tell the

<sup>1</sup> A similar argument appears in another place. 'Were those pages written by a man who hated Athens and triumphed in her fall? We cannot think of any other motive which could have induced Thu-

cydides deliberately to represent as fortuitous a series of events which we, after some reflection, can see to have been in great measure designed' (p. 97).



story of his own military failure, which cost him twenty years of exile, without a syllable of extenuation'<sup>1</sup> any more than from the fact that he could tell the story of the cold-blooded murder of 2,000 patriotic Helots without a syllable of reprobation.

While we must decline the discussion of Thucydides' character, anything that concerns him as thinker and artist is strictly relevant to the inquiry; and what Mr. Cornford has to say upon a mythopoeic strain in the genius of the historian is deserving of very serious attention. Here too however we must be careful to distinguish. The mode of expression is by no means always the mode of thought; and Mr. Cornford, though he recognizes a difference, does not always separate conceptual from stylistic personifications. The use which he makes (pp. 122 *sqq.*) of a passage in Diodotus' speech in favour of clemency to the Mytilenaeans is questionable from two points of view. Firstly it may be said that the thinker is not himself to be made responsible for the form in which ideas are clothed for presentation by an orator to a popular assembly; secondly that the personification of Hope Desire and Fortune is not so much part of the substance as of the vehicle of the ideas. In these matters impression has to be our only guide; and when I read the celebrated chapters on the moral disorganization of Hellas with their cool dissection of motive and situations, I am not tempted by the wording to suppose that Polemos is a real personification in iii. 82,<sup>2</sup> or Logos or Horcos in 83.<sup>3</sup> And this forces me into a somewhat sceptical attitude as to the reality of the personifications which I am asked to discover elsewhere.

On the whole, though we may fairly own that to the popular Greek imagination at the time of the Peloponnesian war and indeed for long after, the abstractions psychical or other of which Mr. Cornford speaks were real though shadowy entities, the evidence adduced is not sufficient to warrant us in saying the same for Thucydides, still less in ascribing an influence so extensive and warping as is assumed. Great writers will take up consciously or unconsciously the expressions of their time, even when at variance with their own convictions. Witness Lucretius who at ii. 652 censures the personifying use of *Neptunus* for the sea, of *Bacchus* for wine, and at ii. 472 and iii. 221 slips into it himself.

The grounds upon which Mr. Cornford would suspect an incident or a narrative of being unhistorical may be gathered from some examples.

Upon the closing scene of the downward career of Pausanias (Thuc. i. 128 *sqq.*) he writes as follows (p. 136)

<sup>1</sup> *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ὕφελ' ὡν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίαιος διδασκαλὸς καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς ὁρὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ (§ 3).

<sup>3</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσεων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὄρκος φοβερός (§ 1).

Mr. Cornford indicates personification by means of initial capitals. The use of this modern device in an ancient author has its inconveniences, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Bréal's *Semantics*, Pref. pp.

xxvii *sq.*), and Mr. Cornford does not escape them. The employment or non-employment of capitals, e.g. in vi. 78. 2 οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἅμα τῆς τ' ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὴν αὐτὴν ταμίαν γενέσθαι (p. 105, n. 1), and Sophocles *Antigone* (616) ἃ γὰρ δὴ πολέπλοκος ἔλπις πολλοῖς μὲν ὕνασις ἀνδρῶν, πολλοῖς δ' Ἀπείρα κούφονόων ἐρώτων is arbitrary: indeed the capital in the last case (Ἀπείρα) is grammatically hardly intelligible.



'The ephors arrange that they shall be concealed behind a partition and overhear a conversation between the king and his treacherous messenger, who contrives to draw from Pausanias a full and damning avowal. . . . The last scene is staged by means of a theatrical property now so cheapened by use as to be barely respectable—a screen!'

To his discussion (p. 132) of 'the version preserved by Thucydides of the legend of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the tyrant-slayers,' upon which he observes that

'The two brothers, or lovers, and the injured sister, or wife—the relationships vary—are the standing *dramatis personae* on such occasions. Collatinus, Brutus, and Lucretia are another example from legend, while the purely mythical type which shapes such legends is seen in the Dioscuri and Helen.'

he appends the following note upon an alternative version of the death of Alcibiades

'Even aspirants to tyranny have to be killed on this pattern. Thus one version of Alcibiades' death was that the *brothers* of a woman with whom he was spending the night set fire to the house and cut him down as he leapt out through the flames.' Plut. *vit. Alcib.* fin.

In chapter xii Mr. Cornford would interpret the debate in the assembly upon the Sicilian expedition by the light of the debate in the council chamber of Xerxes on the Persian war as set forth by Herodotus<sup>1</sup>

'We shall hear Nikias reiterate the warnings addressed in vain by Artabanus to the infatuate monarch and Alcibiades echo the eager tones of Mardonius, who ever desirous of some new thing and wishing himself to be regent of Hellas persuaded Xerxes' (Herod. vii. 6) p. 201

and (p. 214 and note), speaking of Nikias' change of front,

"So Nikias found his position reversed *τὸναντίον περιέστη αὐτῷ*." Another curious dramatic detail of resemblance between Nikias and Artabanus, who, in consequence of the vision, "whereas he had formerly been the only person openly to oppose the expedition, now appeared as openly to urge it" (Herod. vii. 18).

It would seem then that an incident is liable to be suspected, if it is such as would be effective in drama, or if its narrator might have taken it from a previous writer. Principles so drastic must be very cautiously applied.

Nothing is less dramatic than the incredible. A test of good drama is the tacit assent of the spectator to the probability of what it shows him—his feeling that such and such things have happened, that they do still happen, that they will happen again. Not so long ago I read in the police reports how a concealed ephor, in the shape of a policeman, obtained evidence of the guilt of a vulgar Pausanias through listening to his admissions to an accomplice. Within the past twelve months English newspapers have given some space to a trial in one of the Southern States of America in which two brothers were tried for the murder of an Alcibiades who had dishonoured their sister. If 'history repeats itself,' are

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cornford's method is substantially the same as Müller-Strübing's (*l.c.* 311 *sqq.*) in regard to certain incidents of the siege of Plataea.



historians to avoid following its example? It is not necessarily a reflexion on the credibility of Thucydides that similar occurrences have already been chronicled by Herodotus. It is possible to carry scepticism too far. What do we think nowadays of Juvenal's insinuation?

creditur olim  
*uelificatus Athos* et quicquid Graecia mendax  
 audet in historia *e.g.s.* (x. 173 sq.)

In the market-place of Devizes stands a cross which records that 'On Thursday, the 25th of January, 1753, Ruth Pierce, of Potterne, in this county, agreed, with three other women, to buy a sack of wheat in the market, each paying her due proportion towards the same. One of these women, in collecting the several quotas of money, discovered a deficiency, and demanded of Ruth Pierce the sum which was wanting to make good the amount. Ruth Pierce protested that she had paid her share, and said "she wished she might drop down dead, if she had not." She rashly repeated this awful wish, when to the consternation and terror of the surrounding multitude she instantly fell down and expired, having the money concealed in her hand.' What could be more 'dramatic' or more certain of being condemned by Mr. Cornford as legendary, had it appeared in the pages of a fifth century historian?

The strength of the evidence which Mr. Cornford adduces will lie in its accumulation. Upon this each reader must judge for himself, and for it he must refer to the book. Nothing that I have said or shall say in this notice is designed to make such reference superfluous. But I will venture thus far in a positive opinion. Thucydides in his history does undoubtedly dramatize in a sense. His presentation of a policy or situation by means of speeches, which are not and do not profess to be exact reports of what was said and which in some cases could not possibly have been so, is dramatic. His deviation from this custom in a single instance, the Melian dialogue, is uniquely dramatic. The same character may be traced in his selection and grouping of incidents and his disposition of the figures that were to form part of his historical tableaux. But we must not allow this either to mislead or to astonish us. We are not to expect from a great historian the registering fidelity of a tape or a phonograph. His highest work is done by reconstructing and illumining imagination, and here Thucydides, artist and historian, is supreme.

In the modern conception history is a science to be pursued, like other sciences, for its own sake and without direct regard to its utility. Not so in the ancient one. The Greek and Roman historians did not, to use a flippant modern phrase, go into history for their health's sake. Their view is expressed, never better, in the words of Livy *Praef.* 10 'hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli *documenta in inlustri* posita *monumento* intueri; inde *tibi tuaeque rei publicae* quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod uites.' This is the conception of Thucydides, though so little obtruded that it easily escapes us, as in the dry and almost colourless profession of design in the account of the plague ii. 48. 4 ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν τ' ἐγίγνωτο λέξω καὶ ἀφ'



ὧν ἂν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω. If now Thucydides, consciously or unconsciously (from the modern point of view this is practically indifferent), has perverted the inner verities of the facts that he records, if he has bidden us to draw moral and political lessons from events which did not contain them, he must be adjudged to have fallen short of that ideal of truth and accuracy which he admittedly set before him. *But what if the lessons were there?*

It will have been gathered from the length of the foregoing critique that I regard this book as neither uninteresting nor unimportant. But it would be unjust to its author to conclude without a more positive avowal. I would say then that he has pointed out difficulties in the narrative of Thucydides which future champions of its truth and trustworthiness cannot afford to neglect. We may disagree with the author's own solution; but about its novelty and ingenuity there can be no dispute. Scattered over his pages are numerous acute and suggestive criticisms on points of detail, literary aesthetic and psychological. The book has another and what at the present time is perhaps a greater merit. Those who have observed the more recent developments in the writing of history will allow that, unavoidable as these may be, they have not enhanced its attractions. The strictly scientific methods of the new history as of the new philology are not alluring to the popular taste. A diet of pulverized and deodorized facts, flavoured with distilled statistics, is apt to turn all but the most carefully whetted appetite. We owe therefore a double debt of gratitude to Mr. Cornford in that he has combined scientific analysis with literary form and that he has invested the conclusions of a rationalist with all the charm of a mythistorian.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## BURNET'S *PLATONIS OPERA*. VOL. V.

*Platonis Opera*, recognouit breuique adnotatione critica instruxit JOANNES BURNET.  
Tomus V. Tetralogiam ix, Definitiones et Spuria continens. Oxford: Clarendon  
Press, 1907.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Pp. x+598 (?). Cloth 8s.

THIS concluding volume of the Oxford text of Plato contains Tetralogy IX (i.e. *Minos*, *Leges*, *Epinomis*, *Epistulae*), the *Definitions* and the 'spurious' dialogues (*de iusto*, *de uirtute*, *Demodocus*, *Sisyphus*, *Eryxias*, *Axiochus*). The chief codices available for the text are A (Parisinus), L (Laurentianus), O (Vaticanus); F (Vindobonensis) does not go beyond the *Minos*. Useful or interesting variants are often furnished by Stobaeus and Eusebius. For *Laws* I-VI the editor has availed himself of Schanz's collation of A; for the rest of the books he has made his own collation. 'In Legibus edendis,' so he writes in his *Praefatio*, 'malui plerumque traditam scripturam etiam corruptam repraesentare quam Musuri lectiones ex Aldina arripere.' If anything, indeed, Prof. Burnet errs on the side of caution, and adheres to the tradition even when it is obviously erroneous. Yet he admits a good many of the conjectural corrections made by earlier critics, as well as a number of his own. Thus we find in his text Ritter's ἀρετὴν παιδείας for ἀρετῆς παιδείαν (*Laws* 673 A); Ritter's <ὁ> ἄδικος and Schanz's ἀεί for δεῖ (716 D); Stephens' ἔθη for ἦθη (794 E); Hermann's ὅ for τό (803 D); Schneider's δὲ ὄντως for δεόντως (837 C); Bekker's ἐν τούτῳ for ἐν τούτῳ (882 A); Stallbaum's κόποις for τόποις (944 B). The alterations due to the editor himself number, perhaps, half a hundred: only a few specimens can be recorded here. *Laws* 666 D 'post φωνήν distinxi et ἡ alterum seclusi': 777 C κλωπῶν for κλοπῶν: 824 A ἦττον for ἡ τῶν: 865 A 'τῶν ἀρχόντων seclusi': 925 A τούτων for τοῦ τῶν: 965 E ἐὰν, ὁρᾶν δὴ for ἐὰν \*ρηι: *Deff.* 413 D, transposition of νόμος and δίκη: 416 A, transposition of δειλία . . . ὁρμῆς and ἀρχή: *Ax.* 372 A ἄρχει for ἄρχεται. As may be inferred from these specimens, most of the novelties are in matters of detail: many of them seem to deserve acceptance, but not many of them can be called exciting. In dealing with some of the more difficult and corrupt passages the editor is chary of conjecture. Thus, in *Laws* 639 B, καὶ δειλὸς ὦν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπὸ μέθης τοῦ φόβου ναυτιᾶ; is so printed in the text, while Cobet's ὡς ὑπὸ (also approved by Schanz) is recorded in the footnote: but μέθης as a metaphor, beside ναυτιᾶ as a metaphor, can hardly be right, and one is



tempted to restore *μεγέθους*. Again in 722 C οὐ γὰρ πειθοῖ κεραννύντες τὴν μάχην νομοθετοῦσιν κτλ. Winckelmann's conj. διδαχὴν (which had occurred to me independently) finds no place in the footnotes, though it seems more worthy of notice than the suggestions of Stallb. and Ast. No new emendation is offered at 727 A, θεῖον γὰρ ἀγαθόν που τιμή: to read *τιμητέον* would be as likely a correction as any of those proposed. In 739 B the MSS. give καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἂν εἴποτε (or δῆποτε) ἐβελήσειεν, but the editor inserts in his text αἰεί ποτε: perhaps, however, we ought to read ἄλλη ποτέ. In 740 E Winck.'s conj. ἀπαντῶσαι <αἰ> δύνανται κτλ. is put in the text, but without the accent on the relative (so too in the footnote *dis*): read, perhaps, αἰ πάντως δ. In 764 D οἰκήσεων is left in the text, with Herm.'s ἀσκήσεων mentioned below: read, perhaps, (after καὶ) διοικήσεων. In 935 C, for ἐτέρῳ κακῷ one might suggest ἐχθρῷ κ. 960 C-D (τὴν Ἀτροπον . . . δύναμιν) is another passage upon which one would be thankful for further light. But perhaps in his promised *Supplementum* Prof. Burnet will remove the bushel. In regard to matters of fact, his accuracy is so great that it is by no means easy to convince him of sin. In a footnote on 881 A we read 'τιμωρῶν ci. C. Ritter;' but does not the credit of the conjecture belong rather to Winckelmann?

All students of Plato will join in cordially congratulating both Prof. Burnet and the Oxford Press upon the completion of this admirable text; and all who are concerned for the honour of our native scholarship will rejoice that at last, through their zeal, 'the reproach of Egypt' is rolled away.

R. G. BURY.

## KENYON AND BELL'S *BRITISH MUSEUM PAPYRI*.

*Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Catalogue, Vol. III.* Edited by F. G. KENYON and H. I. BELL. London: H. Frowde and others, 1907. Pp. lxxiv+388. 100 Collotype Facsimiles, in Portfolio. £2 2s. (without Facsimiles).

THIS stately volume covers the acquisitions of Greek papyri made by the British Museum between 1895 and 1903. The average rate of annual increase during that period was a little over 100 items; and though two-fifths of the number had been edited before reaching the Museum, there remain to be dealt with some 500 new texts of which about one half are now published in full, brief descriptions being given of the remainder. Dr. Kenyon, the author of the two previous parts of the Catalogue, whose skill and accuracy need no commendation, has lightened his somewhat formidable task by sharing it with Mr. H. I. Bell, who here makes a first appearance as editor of non-literary papyri. For let none cherish vain hopes,—there are no new literary treasures lurking in this long array of texts. The nearest approach to literary form is made by a late liturgical papyrus (No. 1029, p. 284) which on one side has a badly written and obscure invocation of the Trinity and various saints, on the other a rather more intelligible, if ungrammatical, address to the Virgin. The rest of the collection, though widely diversified in content and ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the eighth A.D., belongs unreservedly to the genus 'document.' The texts, which are classified according to periods and subjects, and furnished, after the manner of preceding volumes, with introductions and brief explanatory notes, may be somewhat stiff reading, but include a quantity of interesting material for anyone who cares to delve among these relics of everyday life in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

A small Ptolemaic group (pp. 1–22) consists mainly of second century sales of a familiar type. No. 879 (p. 5) is noticeable on account of some fresh phraseology in the date formulae; the epithet *ἐαυτῶν εὐχαρίστου* applied to Euergetes II still awaits explanation. The bulk of the book is devoted to the Roman period, and here the majority of the more important texts are to be found. The name of a new third-century praefect, Masculinus, emerges in No. 946 (p. 31). Some fresh information concerning the customs-dues is obtainable from Nos. 929, 1169, and 1107 (pp. 40–8; cf. No. 964, p. 211), registers of tolls collected, which



establish more clearly than heretofore the methods of estimating the tax. To the same group belongs No. 856 (p. 91), a table of duties analogous to the Coptos tariff inscription, but perhaps scarcely treated by the editors with the respect which it merits: *κατὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν συνήθειαν* is presumably to be restored in l. 1. An interesting proclamation issued by the praefect L. Aemilius Rectus in A.D. 42 for the protection of the natives against surreptitious extortion and forced labour (No. 1171 verso, p. 105) is virtually a re-enactment of one of the decrees of Euergetes II published in P. Tebt. 5. 178 *sqq.* The occurrence of the word *ἐνγαρεύειν* (= *ἀγγαρεύειν*) in l. 2 confirms Wilcken's correction of our reading *ἐπαρετεῖν* in the Tebtunis papyrus. The praefect himself or officials authorized by him (*οἱ ἔχοντες ἐμὸν δέπλωμα*, l. 5) could of course make requisitions, of which there is an example in No. 1159 (p. 112), a list of persons responsible for providing supplies on the occasion of a praefect's visit (in l. 78 read *ἐκ παντοπωλείου*); but according to No. 1171. 5-6 the commodities commandeered had to be paid for (at the end of l. 5 [. . .] *δητία* perhaps represents *ἐπιτήδεια*, but the preceding *τα αὐτα αἰ καὶ* cannot be right; ? *ἀ καὶ* or *ἡ καὶ*). Another order by a praefect is preserved in No. 904 (p. 124), which directs absentees to return to their homes for a prospective census. As the editors remark, this rescript recalls the famous decree in Luke ii. 1-3, when 'all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city.' The text is still not altogether satisfactory: in ll. 30-1 *τὸν δο[κοῦν]τα ἔχειν τοῦ ἐνθάδε ἐπιμένειν [αἰ]τίαν ἀπογράφει[θ]αι* seems to be required; cf. ll. 34-5. The rescript is preceded by an official letter acknowledging the arrival of 24 *ἰχνεύμονες*, which were apparently intended for a praefect of a zoological bent. No. 971 (p. 128), described as a 'formal document,' is evidently a *ὑπομνηματισμός* or *procès-verbal* of judicial proceedings, and needs a further revision: the unintelligible *Γαλλην, Γαλλων* and *Γαλλον* in ll. 2, 3, and 17 should be *πολλήν*, etc. No. 1164 (p. 154), a series of copies of sales and receipts concerning citizens of Antinoë, is the principal authority for the tribe and deme names of that city. (*h*), a lease of a boat, is remarkable for a number of technical terms, some of which are unexplained: at the end of l. 5 *κατὰ τήνδε τήν* would be expected, and *κατὰ μισθοπρασίαν* in l. 6 might be taken as a single word, though in view of the subsequent occurrence of *μισθοπρασία* it might be better to suppose that *κατά* was repeated by inadvertence; l. 7 *λι[να]ρμένω* is perhaps preferable to *λιν[ῶ] ἄρ]μένω*; in l. 19 a transitive verb is essential in place of *ἐκγενέσθαι*: perhaps *ἐκλέγεσθαι*. From (1) we learn that an athlete whose victories had gained him the privilege of public maintenance (*σίτησις*), could convert this into cash, an Antinoïte boxer obtaining 1000 drachmae for *σιτήσεις δύο* purchased by a fellow-citizen for his sons. But as a relic of ancient sport the palm is taken by No. 1178 (p. 214), a diploma of membership of an important athletic club, 'The Worshipful Gymnastic Society of Nomads, under Royal Patronage' (*ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστική περιπολιστική Ἀδριανὴ Ἀντωνιανὴ Σεπτιμιανὴ σύνοδος*), presented to an athlete of Hermopolis on his election as a member, which cost him an entrance fee of 100 denarii. The diploma is dated from Naples. Of the letters the most noteworthy is No. 854 (p. 205; first or second century), in

which the writer states that he had made a journey to Syene (Assuân) and the Libyan oracle of Ammon, and had carved his name and those of his friends on the walls of the temples. The habits of tourists have not changed with the centuries. What however is especially remarkable is that with Syene the traveller couples the source of the Nile,—a striking proof of the continued currency of the story given by Herodotus. A curious sidelight on the manners of the day appears in No. 951 verso (p. 213), where a father or mother tells the daughter's husband *ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω τῇ θυγατρὶ μου θηλάζειν*.

A few scattered suggestions may be briefly added:—No. 935. l. 1 *ἀμφοδογρ(αμματείας)* rather than—*γρ(αφίας)*: cf. B. G. ll. 1062. No. 851. 22–3 *εὐσχήμενος* rather than *Εὐσχ.* No. 900. 10 presumably [*Σ*] *εὐηρι(ανῆς)*: the whole document evidently relates to the Imperial domains. No. 908. 26 *διεπέ[μψ]ατο*. No. 1171. 54 *ἐλαίου σ(ύν)* is much more likely than *ἐλαιούσ(η)*; *ibid.* 68 *τιμή(ς) οἶνο(υ)*? The *ἕκτη τεμαχῶν* in l. 72 is to be compared with the Ptolemaic *τετάρτη ταρίχου*. No. 928. 21 *ψ[ι]μίθιον=ψιμύθιον*. No. 1165. 13 *Ταμαύεως*. No. 897. 9 *ησα* in *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ησα εὐρηκῶς* represents *ἦσθα* rather than *ἦς*: cf. P. Hibeh 78. 15 *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δυνατὸς ἦσθα*. No. 1247. 2 *χωματεπεῖκται* (not *χωματεεπ.*) does not seem an impossible word. No. 978. 3–4 *ἀλλήλοις [χαίρειν]*: cf. No. 992. 10, etc. No. 984. 5 *αἰ. Τεῶς*. No. 988. 8 *ἀλλ[ὰ καὶ νῦν]* (?), *ibid.* 9 *ἰδοῦ* or *ἰ δ' οὐ<ν>*, *ibid.* 10 *μεγάλα πράγματα* (?). No. 1323. 3 perhaps *κουφίσης* for *κουφ της*. No. 992. 8 *Βησνικων=Bῆς Νικῶν*, and should perhaps be so printed; the name in l. 13 is more likely to begin with *Ζην* than *Ξην*. No. 991. 14 *κυριεύειν*. No. 1003. 12 *τὰ περιγυγνόμενα*. The volume is supplied with excellent indices, and as before is accompanied by a portfolio of 100 well-chosen collotype facsimiles, executed in first-rate style by the Clarendon Press.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.



## JOUGUET'S GREEK PAPYRI AT LILLE.

*Papyrus Grecs de l'Université de Lille.* Publiés sous la direction de P. JOUGUET.  
Tome I, Fascicule I. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907. 4to. Pp. 66. 6 fr. 25 c.

THE above fascicule is the first of a series in which it is proposed to publish a number of texts obtained from the cartonnage of mummies and now housed at Lille. The bulk of this cartonnage proceeded from excavations made in the S.W. of the Fayûm by M. P. Jouguet, the general editor; the remainder was found on the E. side of the same province by a representative of the Cairo Museum, which has entrusted M. Jouguet with the publication. In the instalment before us, which is the work of MM. Jouguet and Lesquier, are included nine papyri, four bearing dates which range from B.C. 260-217, and the rest all belonging to the same century. The most important are Nos. 1 and 4, which clear up two moot points, (a) the size of the much-discussed ναύβιον, which is shown to be 8 cubic royal cubits, *i.e.* a cube having a side of 2 cubits, (b) the devolution of government grants of land (κληροί) on the death of their holders: it is now established that the succession from father to son found at the end of the second century was also customary in the middle of the third, though certain formalities intervened and the land meantime was resumed by the State (κατέχειν τὸν κληρον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ: cf. P. Hibeh 81 and the κατόχιμοι κληροί in the Tebtunis papyri). A new correspondence which occurs in this papyrus between dates on the Egyptian and Macedonian calendars is discussed at length on pp. 36 *sqq.* The technical term εἰς πωολογίαν contrasted with εἰς σπέρμα in No. 5 is a crux. In 3. 54 read Σύρων κώ(μης): cf. 1. 31, etc.; in 1. 64 ἐν σοί is not a mistake for σοί: cf. *e.g.* P. Tebt. 72. 332 ἐν Μαρρεί, 120. 131 ἐν Βι[άνορι. τοῦ ἐν σοὶ ὀφειλομένου means 'the debt for which you are officially responsible.' In 9. 5 the words Καμίνον (l. Καμίνων) καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα belong to the preceding clause, the new sentence beginning with προσωφίληκα. Perhaps we should write καὶ τῶν συνκυρόντων (sc. χωρίων). The volume is tastefully got up, print and paper being excellent, and does much credit both to the editors and to the papyrological institute of Lille University.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

## THE LATEST SUPPLEMENT TO PHOTIOS.

*Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios.* Herausgegeben von R. REITZENSTEIN.  
Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. Pp. liii+166. 1907. 2s.

UP to 1896, the *Lexicon* of Photius was known in only one MS., the Galeanus, containing nothing earlier in the alphabet than ἐπώνυμοι, except the two fragments ἀ—ἀῶσαι and ἀρχίνοια—ἀδιάκριτος. Then, in 1896, Fredrich and Wentzel published (in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*) an Athenian MS. containing Ἀβραμιαῖος—ἀγάσσει and ἀγκιστρεύει—Ἀδράστεια. Now a third MS. has been discovered by Valentin Rose, and edited by Dr. Reitzenstein in the present volume, going without a break from the prologue to ἄπαρνος.

The value of the new portion is twofold: first, the number of new classical fragments that it yields (said to be more than 300, but many are single words); second, and more important to Dr. Reitzenstein's special purpose, the assistance that it gives him in his Herculean task of tracing the affiliations of Greek lexicography. In that task we cannot attempt to follow his labours. Put shortly, his results are (1) that the new fragment firmly establishes the conclusion which he had reached with Boysen, that the principal source of Photius was a συναγωγή λέξεων which is represented very fairly in the *Lexicon Seguerianum* of Bekker and Bachmann, (2) that it also establishes the conclusion which he had maintained against Boysen, that the principal source of the συναγωγή in question was the so-called 'Cyrillian' glossary, both by internal evidence and by the title prefixed to the new MS. Κυρίλλου καὶ Φωτίου τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἀρχιεπισκόπων ἐνθαδὶ λεξικόν, (3) that the ultimate source of Photius's matter, both in the συναγωγή and in his other authorities, is chiefly Phrynichus. These main conclusions are overlaid with a net-work of the most delicate and elaborate investigations into the links of the chain between the συναγωγή and Photius, about which only a peer of Dr. Reitzenstein could venture on question or comment. A layman can merely express his own worthless opinion that all the reasoning is cogent, and pass on to excerpt a few of the fragments from the rich collection which occupies pp. xiii-xxix of the introduction. I have taken those that looked especially interesting, but many others as good are left behind.



Aeschylus :

Νεανίσκοι. Πρὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμφιλαφῇ πήματ' ἔχων ἀθανάτων.  
"Ὅπλων κρίσις. Καὶ διὰ πνευμόνων θερμὸν ἄησιν ὕπνον.

Sophocles :

Αἰγέυς. Κλωστήρσι χειρῶν ὀργάσας κατήνυσε  
σειραῖα δεσμά.

(The fight with the Marathonian bull.)

Τυνδάρεως. 'Αμβλυφαεῖ δ' ὄμμ' ὑπὸ γήρως.

Φρύγες. Οὐ λήξετ', οὐ παύσεσθε τούσδε τοὺς γάμους  
ἀνυμεναιοῦντες ;

Euripides :

'Αλκμέων. 'Ὡς ἀμελές, ὦ δύστηνε, σῶμ' ἔχεις σέθεν.  
—ἐν τοῖσδ' ἄησιν καὶ θέρος διέρχομαι

(under ἄησιν, with the explanation ἀντὶ τοῦ χειμῶνα).

Αὐτόλυκος. Μηδὲ τῷ πατρὶ  
μέμφεσθ', ἄωρον ἀποκαλοῦντες ἀνδρίον.

(MS. μηδέν, μέμφεσθαι, ἀνδρεῖον)

(As R. remarks, 'a warning to the Satyrs.')

Πολύιδος. Δύστηνοι καὶ πολύμοχθοι ματέρες αἰδῆ τίκτουσαι τέκνα. (? 'Αἰδῆ).

Ion :

'Αλκμήνη. Καὶ μὴν ἅπαντα τίκτεται πρῶτον γοναῖς  
αἰδρα, πειραθέντα δ' ἐκδιδάσκειται

(and six other tragic fragments, besides three single words, and the prose statement 'Ἴων δὲ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους θυγατέρα 'Αθηναίαν ξένην φησί).

Agathon : 'Αλλ' οὐκ ἄμαρτυς ἡ χάρις δοθήσεται.

(ἄμαρτυς is a new word, so accented in R., perhaps wrongly, if the υ is long.)

Kratinus :

Διονυσιαλέξανδρος. Εὐθύς γὰρ ἡμῶδεις ἀκούων τῶν ἐπῶν  
τοὺς προσθίλους ὀδόντας.

Θράτται. Οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν συοβοιωτοί, κρουπεζοφόρον γένος ἀνδρῶν.

Pherekrates :

'Ανθρωφηρακλῆς (a new discovery).

'ὦ Ζεῦ, καλῶς γ' ἀνταποδίδως μοι τὴν χάριν.

Philonides :

Κόθορνοι. Περὶ δ' ὧν σὺ λέγεις, λόγος ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ πρὸς 'Αθηναίους κατὰ  
χειρός (? χεῖρας R.)

ὧν ἐγὼ λογιούμ' (λογιούμαι MS.) ἐξ ἀτελείας, τῷ δήμῳ δ' οὐδὲν  
ἀνοίσω

Aristophanes :

Ἀνάγυρος. Τήνδ' ἔωλον ἀναβεβρασμένην.

Γεωργοί. Καὶ τὰς δίκας οὖν ἔλεγον ἄδοντες τότε  
νῆ Δία· φράσω δ' ἐγὼ μέγα σοι τεκμήριον.  
ἔτι γὰρ λέγουσι πρεσβύτεροι καθήμενοι,  
ὅταν κακῶς τις ἀπολογῇται τὴν δίκην,  
ἄδεις.

(MS. ἄδοντες τῷ τε, λέγουσιν οἱ, κακῶς ἀπολογῇται corr. from ἀπολογεῖται.  
The passage is quoted to prove that ἄδειν=μάτην λέγειν, with a line from the  
'Αστράτευτοι of Eupolis, ὅμοιον ἄδειν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἄλλως ἔχειν, which does not quite  
square with the interpretation.)

Δαιταλῆς. Ἀνὴρ δὲ φεύγων οὐ μένει λύρας κτύπον.

No title. Ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, σὺ μόνον εὔξαι καὶ πάντα  
παρέσται (R. suggests σοί γ' ἐστ' and εὔξαι μόνον καὶ πᾶν  
πάρεστιν).

Menander :

Θυρωρός (a new discovery).

Οὐκ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ἀδελφὴ παρενοχλήσει Τιτθίδα·  
οὐδ' ἐώρακεν τὸ σύνολον θεῖον οὐδ' ἀκήκοεν.  
εὐτύχημα δ' ἐστὶν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἔχειν.

(R. substitutes θεῖος. Why?)

T. C. SNOW.



## SCHÖNFELD'S *TEUTONIC PROPER NAMES IN GREEK AND LATIN*.

*Proeve eener Kritische Verzameling van Germaansche Volks- en Persoonsnamen, voorkomende in de litteraire en monumentale Overlevering der Grieksche en Romeinsche Oudheid.* By M. SCHÖNFELD. Groningen, 1906.

THE need of a trustworthy dictionary (similar to Holder's *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*) of the Teutonic words and names which occur in Latin and Greek writings has long been felt by students of philology. It is the object of Dr. Schönfeld's book to supply this want, so far as personal and tribal names are concerned. In regard to arrangement his work compares very favourably with the *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*. The tribal and personal names are treated in separate sections under each letter, while Teutonic names borne by persons of alien nationality, such as 'Attila' are given in appendices. Each page is divided into three compartments, the first of which contains a full list of references to the works in which the name occurs, while the second and third give variant readings in the MSS. and notes on the affinities and etymology of the names respectively. Such a scheme of course necessarily involves a very considerable amount of labour. So far only the first part of the work, comprising names beginning with A and B, has appeared. This however is distinguished by careful and scientific treatment throughout. Some may perhaps regret that the author has not thought fit to carry his investigations beyond the reign of Justinian, but unless a work on a much larger scale had been intended, this was clearly the proper time at which to stop. We wish Dr. Schönfeld all success in the completion of his arduous but very useful undertaking.

H. MUNRO CHADWICK.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

**Revue de Philologie.** Vol. 30. No. 4. 1906.

*Studies on Terence Eunuchus* (continued), Louis Havet. Twenty-two pages of suggestions upon the text from l. 306 to l. 1037. *A desperate passage in Aristoxenus's Harmonics* (p. 40 Meibom), C. E. Ruelle. ὑπερβολαίας is now retained and explained. *The Tomb of Ovid*, Salomon Reinach. The origin of a statement given in Rhodiginus' *Antiquarum lectionum commentarii* (Venice, 1516), and ascribed by him to Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius, to the effect that Ovid died on the same day as Livy (Jan. 1) after seven years of exile, and that the 'barbari' erected to him 'tymbon ante ianuam' is examined, and the good faith of Rhodiginus maintained. 'From the same writer comes a forgotten fragment of 'Plautus' referring to the *hostorius radius*, a rod used in levelling the top of a measure of corn,

dique deaeque omnes tantam nobis laetitiam  
tot gaudia sine radio cumuletis,

for which Forcellini in his lexicon, s.v. *radius*, could not find the authority. *The works of Petilianus, Donatist bishop of Constantin* (continued), Paul Monceaux. Reconstruction of the second pamphlet of Petilianus, the *Epistula ad Augustinum*, in the same way as the first (see *Classical Review*, Dec. 1906, p. 427 b). *Plautus Capt.* 928, Georges Romain. L. 'ex animo et corde (for cura).' *The six first verses of the Eunuchus*, Félix Gaffiot. In l. 3 *hic* is the adverb. The poet first makes public declaration that his aim is to please as many of the good and wound men as little as he can, and then goes on (l. 4) to say that any one who thinks he has been roughly handled must remember that he has been the aggressor. *On Georg.* 3. 257, Louis Havet. *Emphasis by means of disjunction*, J. Marouzeau. When a determining word (adj., etc.) is separated from the word (noun) which it determines, the emphasis falls on the former. *On a Latin construction*, the same. It is proposed to put a comma after 'quod quidem erit' in Ter. *Ad.* 591. *Bulletin bibliographique.*

Vol. 31. No. 1. 1907.

\*Απειοι or \*Απειαι? R. Cagnat. In the inscription of Savatra published by Mr. Cronin in *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 371 Απειων means Athena and Aphrodite. *Observations on Plautus*, L. Havet. *Amph.* 930; *As.* 851, 896, 921; *Aul.* 603, 709, 779; *Bacch.* 140-2, 149, 298, 331-2, 344, 377-8 and 380-1, 411, 424-5, 431, 455, 462, 511, 573, 785, 787, 920-1, 979-81, 1082, 1127. References are also given to papers of the writer where other passages in these plays are discussed. *Two Comic Fragments in Plutarch's Life of Pericles*, ch. 3. On Cratinus, Koch *Com. Att. Fragm.* I. p. 86, and Teleclides *ib.* p. 220. Quo as dative, Jules Martha. Ten additional examples from Cicero. *The works of Petilianus, Donatist bishop of Constantin*, Paul Monceaux. Conclusion. *Juvenal and Statius*, Salomon Reinach. In *Sat.* 11. 178-9 'carmina' means the *Thebaid*, which Juvenal regards as



*dubiam facientia palmam Maronis altisoni* ('grandiloquent'). Compare the last lines of the Thebaid. *The Vienna Tertullian*, Adhémar d'Alés. Review of Emil Kroymann's edition. *Notes on Horace*, P. Lejay. Defends 'ob auaritiā' (S. i. 4. 26) and discusses the use of *doceor* with an infin. (S. ii. 4. 18). *On de Inuentione* i. 4. 5, Jules Martha. On a passage of Vitruvius (x, Praef. § 4), V. Mortet. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

**Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica.** Vol. 35. No. 1. 1907.

*Crete at the Decline of Hellenism*, Giuseppe Cardinali. On the external and internal affairs of Crete from 204 onwards. *The Forged Correspondence of Paul and Seneca*, Carlo Pascal. The Greek original of these letters which was known to Jerome and was written about the end of the fourth century is lost: what we have is a barbarous Latin Translation. A postscript on p. 93. *Medieval Comments on Horace*, Gaetano Curcio. Specimens of comments from medieval MSS. in the Vatican with parallel extracts from Acron and Porphyron. Observations on the Renaissance Commentators. *A Vatican MS. of the Ps. Acronian Scholia*, the same. This MS., Reginensis 2071, deserves attention. *Ēbrius, sōbrius: etymology and meaning*, Francesco Ribezzo. They come from ē m(e)rius, sō(d)m(e)rius (= sine mero, sōd, an Ablaut form of sēd). *The Romance parallels given in the Latin Thesaurus*, C. Salvioni. *On an Enigmatic Epigram Attributed to Virgil*, Ettore de Marchi. On Catal. 1. Lucretiana, Ettore Bigone, II. 105. The verse is as and where it should be. *ib.* 804. For *sensu* read *flexu* or better *vorsu*. 889 *lapides* defended against Giussani's *latices*. 912. For *respuit* read *mens* (= animus) *tenet*. Reviews: Grenfell's and Hunt's *Hibeh Papyri*. Pt. 1, G. Lombardo-Radice's *Studi Platonici*, Mahaffy's *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, Giuseppe Fraccaroli. Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften* 1. *Abteil, Juristische Schriften*, De Marchi's *Tito Livio, Passi scelti ad illustrare le istituzioni religiose, politiche e militari di Roma antica*. Mendelsohn's *Appiani Historia Romana* (ed. ii. P. Viereck) Vol. 2, C. Gaspar's *Olympia*, Cardinali's *Regno di Pergamo*, Vincenzo Costanzi. Baker's *de Comicis Graecis Litterarum indicibus*, Paschal's *Study of Quintus of Smyrna*, Clapp's *Hiatus in Greek Melic Poetry*, Pierleoni's *Xenophontis Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*, Gentili's *Degli antichi contratti d' affitto*, Wendland's *Anaximenes von Lampsakos*, de Boor's *Excerpta de insidiis*, Carlo Oresti Zuretti. C. Wilke's *Polystrati Epicurei περὶ ἀλόγων καταφρονήσεως libellus*, Rabe's *Scholia in Lucianum*, Achille Cosattini. Pirro's *Origini di Napoli* Pt. i., Jacobone's *Ricerche sulla Storia e la Topografia di Canosa*, Gabriele Grasso. Pascal's *Eneide lib. ii.*, Augusto Romizi. Galdi's *Il sentimento della natura e della gloria nell' epistolario di Plinio il Giovane*, Santi Consoli. Mancini's, *Eschilo Prometeo*, Angelo Taccone. Brunn's *Kleine Schriften, Band II.*, Ermanno Ferrero. Lehmann's *Missione civilizzatrice di Babilonia* (trans. by A. Jarach). U. Giri's *In qual tempo abbia scritto Vopisco le biografie degli Imperatori*, Pasciucco's *Elagabalo*, Barbagallo's *La fine della Grecia antica*, Bugiani's *Storia di Esio*, Bassano's *Commodo e Marcia*, Carolina Lanzani. Soldati's *La Poesia Astrologica nel Quattrocento*, Augusto Mancini. Lehnert's *Quintiliani Declamationes*, Concetto Marchesi. Summaries of Periodicals, Domenico Bassi. Obituary Notice of Ermanno Ferrero, Luigi Valmazzi.

No. 2. 1907.

*Graziadio Ascoli*, Pier Enea Guarnerio. Obituary notice of the distinguished Italian scholar with bibliography. *An unedited Herculaneum papyrus*, Domenico Bassi. The writer, who has been recently put in charge of the *papyri* in the 'Officina dei papiri ercolanesi' in the Naples Museum, describes their present lamentable condition and the steps which are being taken to prevent further damage, and gives a transcript with palaeographical notes of pap. no. 346, a portion of an Epicurean ethical treatise. *Notes on Latin Morphology* (continued from vol. 34) *Silvio Pieri*, V. on the *g* of *viginti* and the origin of *septuaginta*. VI (1) *quartus* and *quadrus*, (2) *nonus*. VII *seni* and other distributives. *On Cartault's 'À propos du Corpus Tibullianum'*, Pietro Rasi. Chiefly a reply to criticisms of Cartault in the work



referred to. *Critical Notes*, Salvatore Rossi. On Quint. ii. 16. 1, iv. 1. 8, Seneca *Epist.* 89. 4, 5, Stat. *Theb.* ix. 19, 20. 'Stlata' again, Luigi Valmaggì. Maintains the connexion of stlat(t)a with latus. On the *catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Domenico Bassi (a personal explanation). In *Aeschylī fabulas*, Nicolaus Terzaghi. Notes on Pers. 528, 675 sqq., Sept. 83 l. ἔλε δέ μ' ἀσπίς ὀπλόκτυπος, 606 (the line is spurious), 670 sqq., 899 sqq., 1000, 1042, l. Ἐλπίς περαινέει μῦθον ὑστάτη θεῶν, Ag. 287, 960 l. σημαίνεις δόμῳ, 1324 sqq. (an unmetrical correction is proposed), Cho. 570 l. Πυλάδῃ, ξένῳ τε καὶ δορυξένῳ δόμῳ, 987 sq. (the couplet is spurious), 827 sq. Book Reviews. Mayser's *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* and Martini and Bassi's *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, C. O. Zuretti. Crönert's *Kolotes und Menedemos* and *Bysantische Zeitschrift*, edited by Krumbacher vols. xv-xvi, Domenico Bassi. Tl. *Claudi Donati Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ed. Henricus Georgii, Hosius' *Lucan* (ed. 2), A. C. Clark's *Ciceronis orationes pro Sex. Roscio*, etc., Postgate's *Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres*, Levi's *Tacito: Narrazioni scelte dagli Annali*, Manfredi's *L'Ultimo poeta classico di Roma Cl. Rutilio Namaziano*, and Castiglione's *Studi intorno alle Fonti e alla Composizione delle Metamorphosi di Ovidio*, Concetto Marchesi. Ramorino's and Senigaglia's *Nuovo Vocabulario latino-italiano*, Giovanni Ferrara. Sabbadini's *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Augusto Mancini. Bertoldi's *M. Minusio Felice e il suo dialogo 'Ottavio'*, Kaiser's *De Veterum arte poetica*, Morris H. Morgan's *On the language of Vitruvius*, F. Calonghi, Brugnola's *Horati Epistularum libri II*, Augusto Romizi. Summaries of periodicals, Domenico Bassi.

#### Mnemosyne. 35. 2. 1907.

J. van Wageningen, *Persona*. From \*PERS ('head': cp. porrum, πρᾶσον) and -ona. H. van Herwerden, *Platonica* (from vol. 34). Notes on Theages, Charmides, Lysis, Euthyd., Gorgias, Menon, Hipp. Ma., Ion, Menexenus. v. L., *Ad scholia Aristophanica*. Vesp. 1283, 1188 sqq. C. G. Vollgraff, *Ad Apollodori Bibliothecam*. On the metrical preface and a fragment of Bk. 3. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Statii Achilleidem*. S. A. Naber, *Platonica*. Notes on 6 D—201 B. P. H. D., *Tentatur Verg. Ecl. 6. 21*. Read *rubenti* for *uident*. A. E. J. Holwerda, *De titulo quodam Attico sepulcrali*. v. L., *Ad Timocreonem Rhodium*. In Plut. Them. 21 read μὴ 's ὅρας Θεμιστοκλῆ γενέσθαι. H. van Herwerden, *Forma antiquissima hymni Homerici in Mercurium notulis illustravit*. Notes to the text published by Robert in Hermes 41, 389 sqq. v. L., *Epicharmus*. In Hibeh papyri 1, read μακρολόγος δέ, κοῦ δυνάμην. H. T. Karsten, *De Commenti Donatiana compositione et origine* (continued). J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Photii lexicon*. v. L. *Ad Aristoph. Pacis 73 scholion*.

#### Rheinisches Museum. 62. 1. 1907.

F. Rühl, *Zu den Scriptoribus hist. Aug.* Critical notes, mainly on Capitolinus. H. Kallenberg, *Hiatusschon bei Dionys von Halicarnassus und Textkritik*. P. E. Sonnenburg, *De Lucreti prooemiis*. Written after he had finished most of the work. Hence, e.g. i. 75 sqq. come from i. 594 sqq. P. Thielscher, *Handschriftliches zu röm. Dichtern*. Account of a Marcian MS. of Manilius which T. thinks may be a direct copy of the Cusanus-Bruxellensis. W. Zilles, *Zu einigen Fragmenten Heraklits*. In Hippias Maior 289 a b ἄλλω γένοι is perfectly sound and the passage is not a citation from Her., but an adaptation of a saying of his (fr. 79). M. Boas, *Anyte und Simonides*. Anyte a native of Tegea; Anth. Pal. 7. 492 is not her work, but that of Antonius Thallus, whilst 7. 189 is hers, and wrongly attributed by Anth. Pal. to Aristodicus. Ib. 190 Anyte, not Leonidas; 187 probably Leonidas. Pollux 5. 48 seems at first sight to prove that Anyte imitated Simonides, but the poem there ascribed to the latter is Hellenistic and we should read the author's name as Simmias. P. Friedländer, *Zum Plautinischen Hiat*. Hiatus in old Lat. drama due to influence of Saturnians. W. Kroll, *Randbemerkungen* (from vol. 60). 12. The



γένη λέξεως. 13. The plan of Dionysius' *περὶ συνθ. ὀνομ.* F. Blass, *Philemon und die Aulularia*. Refutes Leo's explanation of a fragment in the Hibeh Papyri and supplements his own arguments in favour of its being the original of the *Aulularia*. C. Marstrander, *Bruchstück einer Sallusthandschrift in dem norwegischen Reichsarchiv*. A. Gercke, *War der Schwiegersohn des Poseidonios ein Schüler Aristarchs?* Menecrates who married Poseidonius' daughter not to be confused with M. of Nysa. G. Crönert, *Lectiones Epicureae*. Addenda to the fragments (esp. certain Paris papyri, Mus. nat. 7733). H. Willers, *Die röm. Messing-Industrie in Nieder-Germanien*. Seat of Manufacture probably at Gressenich, near Stolberg (illustrated). *Miscellen*: B. Schmidt, *Zu Thukydides*. Emends ii. 52. 4 πολλοὶ ἐς ἀνασχοντίας δῆθεν ἐπράποντο, iii. 39. 6 οἷς δ' ἐξῆν—εἶναι, τὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀλίγων; C. Haeberlin, *Fragmente eines unbekannten Philosophen*; F. B., *Gewöhnliche und ungewöhnliche Schreibung von κύριος*; M. Ihm., *Ein fragment des Varro*; G. Gundermann, *Lat. Inschrift aus Afrika*; A. M. Harmon, *Ignis a romphaea*.

62. 2. 1907.

F. Münzer, *Aufidius und Plinius*. The period between Jan. 1, 49, and Jan. 1, 52 marks the boundary between Aufidius' History and Pliny's *a fine Auf. Bassi*. A. Gercke, *Die Replik des Isokrates gegen Alkidamas*. The similarities between certain passages of the *Phaedrus* and Alcidamas due to borrowing on the part of Plato. Alc. attacked not Isocr. in particular, but all who composed written speeches for use in the assembly, or courts. Isocrates never came forward against the old τέχνη ῥητορικῇ. P. Wessner, *Der Terenzkommentar des Eugraphius*. Recension α (Gerstenberg's A) belongs to ninth century and is interpolated. Eugraphius' date fixed at between 350 and 550. K. Hiemer, *Zwei politische Gedichte des Horaz*. The peculiar conjunction of gods, heroes, and men in Odes 1. 12 suggested by the decorations of the Forum Augusti and its temple of Mars. Ode 2 of the same book connected with the consecration of the newly built Regia of Dom. Calvinus. H. Rabe, *Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften*. 1. Information as to the life of Hermogenes. 2. Libanius' pupil Aphthonius. F. Blass, *Varia*. Textual notes on passages of Aeschylus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Theognis, Photius. E. Martini, *Eustathianum*. (1) List of MSS. of the Commentaries on Homer. It is generally believed that LM are autograph MSS. E. agrees, but claims to have found in a Paris MS. yet a third autograph, and one more carefully written than M (which contains, e.g. a lacuna some lines in length due to homoioteleuton). Facsimiles of the three MSS. are given. (2) The ed. princeps and its MS. sources. W. Judeich, *Untersuchungen zur athen. Verfassungsgeschichte*. *Miscellen*: F. Rühl, *Varia*; G. Crönert, *Cercidae fragmentum*; J. Burnet, *Plato Epist. II. 313 A*; C. Hense, *Ein Fragment des Athenodorus von Tarsus*; R. Sabbadini, *Die Ciris in den vergil. Biographien*; F. Solmsen, *Sprachliches aus neuen Funden*; H. Ehrlich, *Noch einmal ὕμνος*; M. Ihm, *Cabidarius*; Pokrowskij, *Veno—'Verkauf'*; E. Bethe, *Ithaka und Leukas*; F. B., *Nachtragliches*; C. Hülsen, *Berichtigung*.

#### Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. 19. 2. 1907.

E. Bethe, *Die griech. Tragödie und die Musik*. A comparison of the Agamemnon and Oedipus Tyrannus, to show that Music is the chief element in Aeschylean as opposed to Sophoclean art. Weniger, *Der Artemisdienst in Olympia und Umgegend*. Mainly an outcome of conditions existing in the neighbouring country. Two forms specially noteworthy, that of the huntress-goddess and that of the goddess in her relation to the Alpheus. A. Struck, *Der Xerxeskanal am Athos* (Map). 'Was completed, and used by X.'s fleet.' E. Samter, *Hochzeitsbräuche* (2 Plates). Chiefly on shoe-throwing, of which a Greek vase preserves a trace. R. Petsch, *Die Walpurgisnacht in Goethes Faust*. [20. 2 F. Aly, *Die Unterschätzung des Lateinischen*, G. Erdenberger, *Über den Betrieb der toten und lebenden Sprachen an unseren Gymnasien*.]



## 19. 3. 1907.

R. Heinze, *Die gegenwärtigen Aufgaben der röm. Literaturgeschichte*. Lays stress on the need for exhaustive treatment of the style, technique, personality, and environment of the individual writers. H. Jordan, *Aischylos' Choephoren in ihrem dramatischen Aufbau*. R. Thomas, *Emanuel Geibel als Übersetzer altklassischer Dichtungen*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: brief and favourable notices of Robinson's *Ancient Sinope* and Preller's *Briefe und Studien aus Griechenland* by W. Rüge and J. Ilberg respectively.

## 19. 4. 1907.

W. Nestle, *Die Weltanschauung des Aischylos*. Deals mainly with the poet's conception of Zeus, especially in the Prometheus trilogy. O. Apelt, *Über Platons Humor*. Plato's attitude to mythology and the teaching of the older Philosophers. The Cronos-myth of the Politicus, the Theuth-myth of the Phaedrus, and passages of the Sophistes are handled in some detail. G. Kettner, *Lessing und Shakespeare*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: W. Lermann's *Allgriechische Plastik* reviewed at some length by E. Petersen.

## 19. 5. 1907.

W. Nestle, *Die Weltanschauung des Aischylos* (continued). A's view of the deity in relation to the existence of evil. No gradual advance from the popular belief in fate to an enlightened one in man's absolute freedom such as Wilamowitz finds in the Oresteia. A. does not, like Plato, relieve God of all connexion with evil; he makes him bring the good to victory. Views as to a judgment after death. Influence of the Orphic mysteries, philosophy, and *ισοπρία*. A. Schulten, *Ampurias*. Account of the site and remains of the Massilian settlement Emporion (later *Emporiae*), with three plates. F. Rösiger, *Lessings Heldenideal und der Stoizismus*. On Lessing's criticism of parts of Cicero's *Tusculans* in the fourth part of *Laocoon* and their influence on other parts of the work. H. Mayne, *Literaturphilologie—Literaturpsychologie—Literaturgeschichte*. R. Petsch, *Aufgaben der Philosophiegeschichte*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: F. Friedensburg, *Eine merkwürdige Horazreliquie*. A Horace passage cited from memory in a document of Duke Heinrich I. of Breslau dated 1234: H. Christensen, *Die Hexameter im Anfange der Goldenen Bulle*. Shows that they are a patchwork mainly from Sedulius and Alanus.

## 19. 6. 1907.

J. Ilberg, *A. Cornelius Celsus und die Medizin in Rom*. Popular account of the medical parts of Cato's works, the extant portions of Celsus' encyclopaedia, the prescription-book of Scribonius Largus, Pliny's attitude towards the Greek medical writers and the *Medicina Plinii*. O. Schroeder, *Griechische Versperioden*. R. M. Meyer, Nietzsche's 'Zarathustra.' *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: H. Lechat's *La sculpture attique avant Phidias* favourably reviewed by W. Amelung.

## Archiv für Lat. Lexicographie, etc. 15. 2. 1907.

T. Birt, *Doppelformen im Lateinischen*. *Elementum, alimentum; coitus, coetus; uaser, faber; alter, adulter*, etc. L. Brichta, *Zur Enallage adiectiui*. Ov. Am. 3. 7. 21. J. Denk, *Fraumentum=fragmentum*. H. Christensen, *Que—Que bei den röm. Hexametrikern*. Commonest form that in which two words (mostly substantives) are united by *que—que*. The use came into Latin through Ennius from Homer, but the Latin poets show a marked preference for using it after the caesuras, for which Homer affords no precedent. Due partly to metrical considerations, partly to a desire to emphasize the connexion or contrast of objects, functions, or qualities. O. Probst, *Zu Lucretius*. In Lucr. 4. 990 supply the gap with *edere uocem*. C. Weyman, *Malus uel prauus*. J. Wackernagel, *Qua—qua; lympa; eruptum=ereptum*. Explains *qua* as a case of ellipse of *posse*, quoting Plaut. Asin. 96 *qua me qua uxorem qua tu seruom Sauream potes circumduce*; derives *lympa*, from *lumpā*, the old Latin corruption of *λύμφη*. A. Döhning, *Pontifex Kalendae Idus*. *Pontifex=*



*spontifex*, a spondendo: he makes the state-vows. *Kalendae*, the dark nights when the moon is new,  $\sqrt{\text{CAL}}$  in *celo, oculo, caligo*. E. Bednara, *Aus der Werkstatt der dactylischen Dichter*. Collections of neologisms formed by epic or elegiac writers presenting at least one short syllable. P. Geyer, *Die Wirkliche Verfasserin der Peregrinatio Silviae*. Accepts ascription to the *abbatissa Egeria*, and gives a full text of the important Valerius letter. The traces of Spanish origin afforded by the Latin discussed, with reference to Anglade's *De latinitate libelli qui inscriptus est*, etc. (Paris, 1905). P. Geyer, *Pullus=gallus*. E. von Wölfflin, *Die Interpretationes Vergilianae des C. Donatus*. Emphasizes the rhetorical standpoint of D. and enumerates the authors he quotes. A. Klotz, *Die Argumente zur Thebais des Statius*. C. Weyman, *Habeat, teneat, possideat*. Supplements list in Kalb's *Juristenlatein*. *Miscellen*: O. Hey, *Noch einmal actutum, actuarius*. Admits possibility of connecting *actutum* with *ago* (as adverbial form of *\*actutus* like e.g. *astutus*), denies that *actuarius* has anything of the meaning 'swift' about it. C. Weyman, *Sine ira et studio*. This combination (Tac. Ann. init.) illustrated from Cicero, Caesar, Lucan, and post-Tacitean writers. K. Hoppe, *Vergiliana*. Notes on Servius. M. Wisén, *Zum historischen Infinitiv*. Arose from a misconception: *amauere* was written *amare* and taken as present inf. *Literatur*: Lodge's *Lex. Plautinum (alius—dico)* coolly received. H. Brewer's *Kommodian von Gaza, ein arelatensischer Laiendichter aus der Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts* reviewed by A. Klotz, who accepts at any rate the bulk of the conclusions it draws. *Nekrolog*: W. von Hartel.

#### Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1907.

5 June. *Homeri Iliadis pictae Fragmenta Ambrosiana*, ed. cura A. M. Ceriani et A. Ratti (G. Thiele), favourable. Sophocles' *Antigone*, von Fr. Schubert. 8. Aufl. von L. Hüter (F. H.), favourable. Sophocles' *Oidipus Tyrannos*, von Fr. Schubert, 3. Aufl. von L. Hüter (F. H.), favourable. M. Bloomfield, *Cerberus, the Dog of Hades* (H. Steuding). P. Reis, *Studia Tulliana ad Oratorem pertinentia* (Th. Stangl), very favourable. W. T. Arnold, *The Roman system of provincial administration*. New edition by E. S. Shuckburgh (O. Hirschfeld). 'Not up to date.'

12 June. A. Calderini, *Di un' ara greca dedicatoria agli dei inferi* (R. Wünsch). H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*. I, 3. Bearb. von Ch. Huelsen (H. Belling), favourable. *Caesaris commentarii de bello civili*, erkl. von Fr. Kraner und Fr. Hofmann. 11. Aufl. von H. Meusel (R. Oehler), favourable. H. Sjögren, *Zum Gebrauch des Futurums im Altlateinischen* (H. Blase), favourable.

19 June. E. Lange, *Sokrates* (H. Nohl), favourable. Cicero, *Fünfte Rede gegen Verres*, erkl. von O. Drenckhahn (H. Nohl). A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Lief. 2-10 (H. Ziemer), very favourable. *Buddhist and Christian Gospel Parallels from Pāli texts*, now first compared by A. J. Edmunds. Ed. by M. Anesaki (R. Lange), favourable.

26 June. W. Lermann, *Altgriechische Plastik* (A. Trendelenburg), rather unfavourable. O. Schroeder, *De tichoscopia Euripidis Phoenissis inserta* (H. G.), favourable. H. Plenkens, *Untersuchungen zum Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*. 1. *Die Regelbücher Benedikts von Aniane*. 2. *Die Regula S. Benedicti* (C. W.) H. Ludwig, *Lateinische Phraseologie* (H. Ziemer). 'A beautiful and useful book.'



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